

ALEXANDER THE GREAT THEMES AND ISSUES

EDWARD M. ANSON



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Alexander the Great

Alexander the Great

Themes and Issues

Edward M. Anson

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PREFACE

Why another book on Alexander? It's a good question with, perhaps, not an adequate answer. I could blame Michael Greenwood of Bloomsbury Academic for asking me to write one, but I guess that would be disingenuous. After all, I did agree to do so. Why not another biography? The events of Alexander's life are by-and-large clear and more than adequately set forth in a number of excellent biographies. This book looks at certain aspects of his reign omitting most of the details that are covered elsewhere. What is it that fascinates me about Alexander? Do I like him, dislike him? That is hard to explain. I have a fascination not only with him and his many talents but also with his flaws. Could Philip have accomplished as much, more? Could the Hellenistic Age have arisen without the violence and bloodshed? Maybe. But, Philip died before whatever he wished to accomplish in the East had hardly begun, and the new Age did arise in violence and bloodshed. What might have been or could have happened are moot points. The key to the changes brought with the conquests of Alexander was Alexander. That in and of itself makes him a central figure in the transformation. His successes, his failures, his intentions, all are central to the process that set in motion the creation of the Hellenistic Age. To understand the man is to begin to understand the dramatic evolution of the ancient world that began in the late fourth-century BC with the conquest of the Persian Empire.

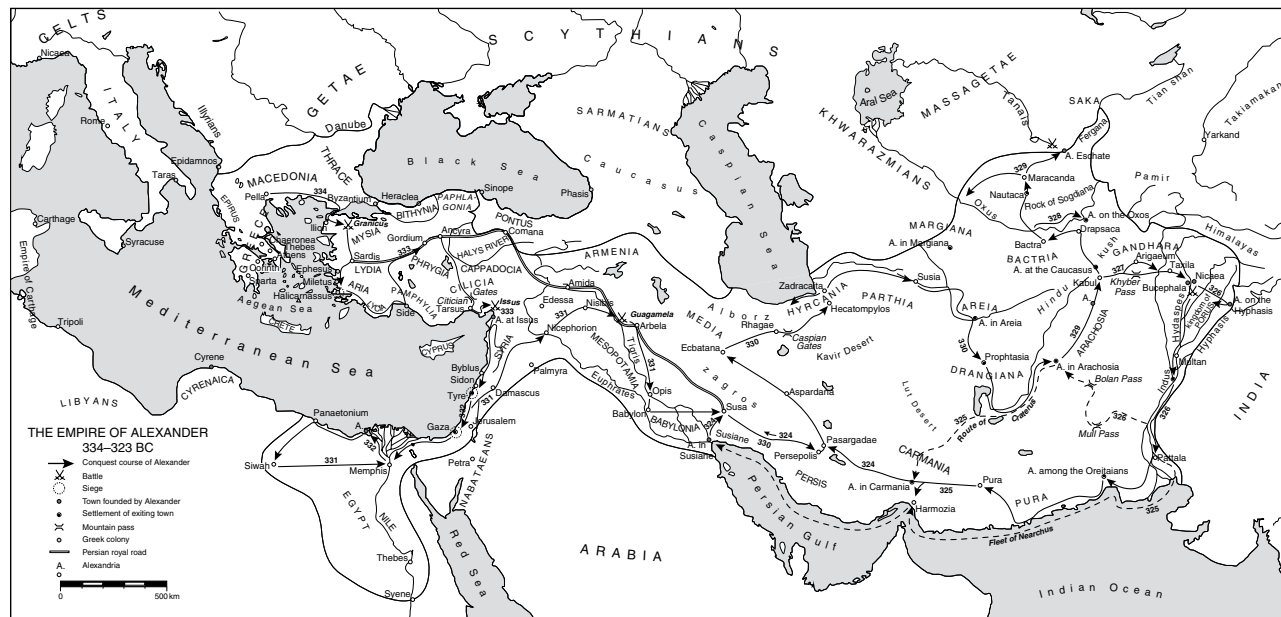
I have many people to thank, not so much for this particular manuscript, for which I am almost entirely to blame, but for the friendships, encouragements, and the willingness to share insights and knowledge. Lindsay Adams has been my friend from our time together in graduate school to the present day. For almost as long I have known Beth Carney, who I first met as a colleague at Clemson. I would also be remiss in not thanking Waldemar Heckel for the years of friendship and encouragement, and especially for throwing

me a lifeline after my many years lost in administration and campus politics. There are also those colleagues of more recent vintage: Gene Borza, Pat Wheatley, Victor Alonso-Troncoso, Brian Bosworth, Elizabeth Baynham, Frances Pownall, Franca Landucci Gattinoni, Joseph Roisman, Tom Boiy, Alexander Meeus, Sabine Müller, and so many more. I have enjoyed our conversations and have profited from their knowledge and insights. Finally, but certainly not last or least, my wife Jeanne, who as a lay person read the manuscript and is responsible for making its arguments clearer and its prose more understandable.

MAPS



1. Ancient Macedonia



2. Alexander's Empire

ABBREVIATIONS

Ael.	Aelian, <i>Varia Historia</i>
Aeschin.	Aeschines, 2 (<i>On the Embassy</i>); 3 (<i>Against Ctesiphon</i>)
Apollod.	Apollodorus, <i>Library</i> (Bibl.)
App.	Appian, <i>Syrian Wars</i> (Syr.)
Ar.	Aristophanes, <i>Birds</i> (Av.)
Arist.	Aristotle, <i>Athenian Constitution</i> (Ath. Pol.); <i>Politics</i> (Pol.), <i>Rhetoric</i> (Rhet.)
[Arist.]	Pseudo-Aristotle, <i>Economics</i> (Oec.)
Aristid.	Aristides, <i>Orations</i> (Or.)
Arr.	Arrian, <i>Anabasis Alexandri</i> (Anab.); <i>Indica</i> (Ind.); <i>Successors</i> (Succ.)
Athen.	Athenaeus, <i>The Banqueteers</i>
Caes.	Caesar, <i>Civil War</i> (BC); <i>Gallic War</i> (BG)
Cic.	Cicero, <i>On Divination</i> (Div.)
Curt.	Curtius, <i>The History of Alexander the Great of Macedon</i>
Dem.	Demosthenes, 1 (<i>First Olynthiac</i>); 3 (<i>Third Olynthiac</i>); 4 (<i>First Philippic</i>); 6 (<i>Second Philippic</i>); 7 (<i>On the Halonnesus</i>); 8 (<i>On the Chersonese</i>); 9 (<i>Third Philippic</i>); 12 (<i>Philip</i>); 18 (<i>On the Crown</i>); 19 (<i>On the False Embassy</i>); 20 (<i>Against Leptines</i>); 23 (<i>Against Aristocrates</i>); 56 (<i>Against Dionysodorus</i>)
Din.	Dinarchus, 1 (<i>Against Demosthenes</i>)
Diod.	Diodorus, <i>Library of History</i>
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius, <i>Live of Eminent Philosophers</i>
Esther	<i>Book of Esther</i> (Est.)
Eur.	Euripedes, <i>Heraclids</i> (Heracl.)
Euseb.	Eusebius, <i>Chronica</i> (Chron.)
Ezra	<i>Book of Ezra</i> (Ezra)
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i>
Frontin.	Frontinus, <i>Strategems</i> (Str.)

Heraclid. Pont.	Heraclides Ponticus
Hes.	Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i> (<i>Theog.</i>)
Hdts.	Herodotus, <i>Histories</i>
Hom.	Homer, <i>Iliad</i> (<i>Il.</i>); <i>Odyssey</i> (<i>Od.</i>)
Hyp.	Hyperides, 4 (<i>In Defense of Euxenippus</i>), 5 (<i>Funeral Oration</i>)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
Isoc.	Isocrates, 4 (<i>Panegyricus</i>), 5 (<i>To Philip</i>), 12 (<i>Panathenaicus</i>); <i>Letters</i> (<i>L.</i>)
Just.	Justin, <i>Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus</i>
Liv.	Livy, <i>From the Founding of the City</i>
Lucian	Lucian, <i>Slander</i> (<i>Cal.</i>)
Lys.	Lysias, <i>Against Alcibiades</i> 1
Nep.	Nepos, <i>Life of Eumenes</i> (<i>Eum.</i>)
Ov.	Ovid, <i>Heroides</i> (<i>Her.</i>); <i>Metamorphoses</i> (<i>Met.</i>)
Paus.	Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece</i>
Pind.	Pindar, <i>Isthmian Odes</i> (<i>Isthm.</i>)
Pl.	Plato, <i>Alcibides</i> (<i>Alc.</i>); <i>Gorgias</i> (<i>Grg.</i>); <i>Laws</i> (<i>Leg.</i>); <i>Republic</i> (<i>Rep.</i>)
Plautus	<i>Mostellaria</i> (<i>Mostell.</i>)
Pliny	<i>Natural History</i> (<i>NH</i>)
Plut.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Alexander</i> (<i>Alex.</i>), <i>Life of Aratus</i> (<i>Arat.</i>); <i>Life of Cimon</i> (<i>Cim.</i>); <i>Life of Demetrius</i> (<i>Demetr.</i>); <i>Life of Dion</i> (<i>Dion</i>); <i>Life of Eumenes</i> (<i>Eum.</i>); <i>Life of Lysander</i> (<i>Lys.</i>); <i>Pelopidas</i> (<i>Pel.</i>); <i>Life of Pericles</i> (<i>Per.</i>); <i>Life of Phocion</i> (<i>Phoc.</i>); <i>Life of Pyrrhus</i> (<i>Pyrrh.</i>); <i>Life of Solon</i> (<i>Sol.</i>); <i>Life of Themistocles</i> (<i>Them.</i>)
Polyaen.	Polyaenus, <i>Stratagems</i>
Polyb.	Polybius, <i>Histories</i>
Scholia	Demosthenes: <i>Scholia Graeca ex codicibus aucta et emendata</i> . Arno Press. New York. 1983
Soph.	Sophocles, <i>Women of Trachis</i> (<i>Trach.</i>)
Stob.	Stobaeus, <i>Anthology</i> (<i>Flor.</i>)
Str.	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
Tac.	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> (<i>Ann.</i>)
Thuc.	Thucydides, <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus, <i>Memorable Words and Deeds</i>
Xen.	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> (<i>Anab.</i>), <i>Cyropedia</i> (<i>Cyr.</i>), <i>Hellenica</i> (<i>Hell.</i>); <i>Memorabilia</i> (<i>Mem.</i>); <i>Economics</i> (<i>Oec.</i>)

CHRONOLOGY

- ca.700 Perdiccas I, descendant of Temenus of Argos, first Argead king of Macedonia
- 513 Persian invasion of Scythia; domination of Macedonia by Persians
- ca.498–ca. 454 Alexander I
- 393–370/69 Amyntas III
- 370/69–367 Alexander II
- 367–359 Perdiccas III
- 359 Death of Perdiccas III; Philip II becomes king
- 358 Philip defeats Illyrians, Paeonians, Argaeus, and unites Lower and Upper Macedonia
- 356 Birth of Alexander; Phocis seizes Delphi, start of Third Sacred War; foundation of Philippi
- 353 Battle of Crocus Field; Philip becomes Archon of Thessaly
- 346 End of the Third Sacred War
- 343 Aristotle becomes Alexander's tutor
- 340 Alexander regent in Macedonia and founds Alexandroupolis
- 338 Battle of Chaeronea
- 337 Creation of the League of Corinth
- 336 Advance force to Asia; murder of Philip; Alexander III becomes king; accession of Darius III to Persian throne
- 336/5 Alexander becomes Archon of Thessaly, Hegemon of the League of Corinth
- 335 Alexander campaigns in the north and northwest; destruction of Thebes
- 334 Alexander crosses to Asia; Battle at the Granicus; campaigns in western Asia Minor, disbands fleet, Caria; siege of Halicarnassus

- 333 Moves into Phrygia; Gordian Knot; first flight of Harpalus; Battle of Issus
- 332 Sieges of Tyre and Gaza
- 331 Founding of Alexandria in Egypt; journey to Siwah; Battle of Megalopolis; Battle of Gaugamela; occupation of Babylon, Susa, Persepolis
- 330 Burning of Xerxes' palace in Persepolis; dismissal of allied contingents at Ecbatana in Media; death of Darius III; revolt of Satibarzanes; trial and execution of Philotas, Parmenion; foundation of Alexandria at Caucasus
- 329 Alexander enters Bactria: surrender of Bessus; foundation of Alexandria Eschate; revolt
- 328 Murder of Cleitus; death of Spitamenes
- 327 Capture of the Rock of Sogdiana; Alexander marries Roxane; end of revolt; attempt to introduce *proskynesis*; Pages conspiracy; death of Callisthenes; invasion of India
- 326 Hyphasis "unpleasantness"; journey down the Indus
- 325 Massacre of Mallians; crossing of the Gedrosian desert; second flight of Harpalus
- 324 Susa marriages; mutiny at Opis; Exiles' Decree
- 323 Alexander arrives in Babylon; death of Alexander; emergence of the dual monarchy of Philip III and Alexander IV

Introduction

Alexander the Great

Despite Alexander's epithet, "the Great"—a title likely given to him soon after his death, even though our first surviving reference comes from the Roman comedic playwright Plautus (*Mostell.* 775)—his enduring fame, his conquests spread over two million square miles, his victories in every battle where he was present, and his role in creating the Hellenistic Age, his greatness has been much challenged in recent scholarly literature. While some might still call Alexander "the Pretty Good," many more would hail him as "the-downright-awful." A great many current scholars of Alexander and his Age accept Brian Bosworth's assessment put forth in his 1996 book *Alexander and the East: The Tragedy of Triumph*. "The price of Alexander's sovereignty was killing on a gigantic scale, and killing is unfortunately the perpetual backcloth of his regime" (30). Roughly a decade ago, Ian Worthington asked, "Was the wastage in human lives, the incalculable damage to foreign peoples, institutions, livelihoods, and lands, . . . worth it?" and has answered his own question that it was not (1999: 53). Many today would accept his conclusion.

Alexander has been seen as a chronic alcoholic (O'Brien 1992), suffering from paranoia (Worthington 1999: 49), and as living in constant rivalry with his dead father (Fredricksmeyer 1990: 300–15), due, perhaps, to an Oedipal complex (Thomas 1995). Prior to the late 1950s, when Ernst Badian (1958: 425–44) began to challenge the then prevailing view of Alexander, that commander was seen as a civilizing force for the entire Near East (Droysen 1877: 4). His expedition was viewed as an attempt "to reconcile the world," to bring together as one people all humanity (Tarn 1948: 444–8). What is lost sight of in all of these assessments is that Alexander

was termed "The Great" because he conquered the Persian Empire. For the ancients that was sufficient to grant him the epithet.

The likely apocryphal proclamation by the Delphic Oracle that Alexander was invincible was apparently proven correct as he went from one victory to another. Where his father had difficulty besieging rather small cities, Alexander, in 335, captured the city of Thebes within days of his arrival on the scene,¹ and, later, fell the cities of Miletus and Halicarnasus in 334,² and Tyre and Gaza in 332.³ An army assembled from the forces of the Persian satraps in Asia Minor was vanquished at the Granicus River in 334⁴; at Issus in Cilicia, where, although heavily outnumbered, Alexander defeated the Great King of Persia himself in battle in 333,⁵ and again with a measure of finality at Gaugamela in 331.⁶ He marched unopposed into Egypt in 332 (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 1–2; Diod. 17. 49. 1; Curt. 4. 7. 1), into Babylonia in 331 (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 3; Diod. 17. 64. 3–4; Curt. 5. 1. 17–20), and was welcomed enthusiastically by both the Egyptians (Diod. 17. 49. 1; Curt. 3. 7. 1) and the Babylonians as a liberator (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 3; Diod. 17. 64. 4). Indeed, his entrance into Babylon was likely, looking at Alexander's expedition as a whole, his highpoint.

As part of the ongoing reassessment of Alexander, emphasis today is placed on his Macedonian heritage, and especially in the last few decades Macedonian studies have flourished,⁷ abetted by the discovery of the Royal Tombs in Vergina in 1977–8 (Andronicos 1984), and also by current events in the Balkans. With the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s and the emergence of a new state officially recognized in 1993 by the United Nations as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), the legacy of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia became an issue of contention between the new Republic and the nation of Greece. The attention, in what for years for Macedonia was more truly inattention, with the focus of scholars concentrated on the southern Greek city-states that dominated the Classical Age, has caused Macedonian archaeology to flourish in recent years.

Perhaps, an even more significant change in Alexander studies over the last 30 years has been the emphasis on the role played by Alexander's, until recently, far less heralded father.⁸ Philip II had turned a northern, culturally backward area of the Greek peninsula, from a fragmented land of powerful aristocratic land-owners and poverty-stricken serfs into a unified nation state with cities and

a large free population. He also transformed the Macedonian army from a force far inferior to the armies of the southern Greek city-states into the best fighting force in the Western world, creating a dominating Macedonian infantry where there had only been light infantry before (Anson 2008: 17–30). Philip then used this new Macedonia to make himself the master of most of the Greek peninsula. His legacy to Alexander included the army and the nucleus of the officer corps with which Alexander would conquer the East, a united nation, and a federation of Greek states at first under Philip's leadership and subsequently that of Alexander. At the time of Philip's assassination in 336 he was preparing to invade the Persian Empire, and, indeed, in the previous year already had a force across the Hellespont to prepare for his coming, full-scale, invasion. The king's assassination in 336 made this another of his legacies to his son.

Part of the difficulty in assessing Alexander has always been the nature of the surviving sources. Given that he was even in his lifetime almost a mythic figure, it is both peculiar and frustrating that no contemporary narratives of his life have survived. These had been written by his generals and confidants, by his admiral, and a court supervisor. Alexander even had a court historian, Callisthenes (Heckel 2007: 76–7). Nor is this deficiency corrected by an abundance of surviving documents. The inscriptional evidence is hardly substantial. All of our earliest surviving narrative sources date from the Roman period, centuries after the Conqueror's death. While these histories are based on the earlier accounts, they are neither clear in the attribution of their sources nor are they mere ciphers of the earlier works. Recent scholarship has focused on the importance of understanding the milieu, purposes, and style of these surviving historians. As John Atkinson (2000: 307) writes, we must “consider the writers’ aspirations, their treatment of fashionable motifs and current issues, and the limits of their originality.” Diana Spencer (2009: 251) puts it more pointedly: “Thinking about Alexander the Great means thinking about a character generated by the cultural politics of the Roman world.” These cautions suggest that any attempt to discover the “real” Alexander may ultimately be impossible (Bosworth 1988: xi). Indeed, Alexander the myth began almost as soon as he died, and the examination of the legend of Alexander has become a major field of study in itself. The legend entered

the Middle Ages in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Hebrew, and Persian versions, and survives in the national literatures of roughly 80 countries. Richard Stoneman's *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend*, published in 2008 by Yale University Press, investigates this vast body of literature associated with this mostly mythical Alexander.

Despite the caveats placed on any true assessment of Alexander, much study today has gone into attempting to gauge what Alexander's "real" aims were and who he was, and this study is no exception. Moreover, this is simply a continuation of a similar pursuit in the ancient past. The second-century AD, Roman historian, Arrian (*Anabasis of Alexander* 28. 2) describes Alexander as "zealous for honor" and "insatiable of glory alone." Plutarch, a Greek writing early in the second-century AD, in his *Life of Alexander* (5. 5–6), comments that Alexander did not desire wealth and luxury, but "virtue and fame." Diodorus of Sicily, writing a universal history from "mythical times" down to the period of Julius Caesar, in his seventeenth book, praises Alexander's courage and intelligence, and calls his conquests, "achievements that surpassed those of all kings from the beginning of time" (17. 1. 3). A darker side to this theme is presented in Justin's *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus*, perhaps, composed in the second-century AD, summarizing an earlier first-century work,⁹ and in Quintus Curtius Rufus's *The History of Alexander the Great of Macedon*, written likely in the first century of the Roman imperial period (Baynham 1998: 201–19). Curtius (3. 12. 18–20) portrays Alexander as a monarch corrupted by his good fortune. Justin's work describes the Macedonian king as a "visionary" (9. 8. 13), prone to anger and drunkenness (9. 8. 14–15), feared but not loved (9. 8. 17). Yet, Justin (9. 8. 11), or his source, believes that with respect to Alexander the good more than offset the blemishes, and Curtius (10. 5. 26) excuses Alexander's faults as the result of "fortune or his youth." While Alexander grew to adulthood in his society quickly by today's standards, already serving as his father's regent at the age of 16, king at 20, and dead at 32, his history is still that of a young man.

A further complication is that our sources are replete with speeches ostensibly given by the various participants in the historical drama. Without a doubt these are not verbatim transcriptions, but are meant to dramatize the material, often to serve as editorials

by the author, and always to demonstrate the rhetorical skills of the historian in whose text they occur. In the case of the last, even where a speech had appeared in a work being used by one of our surviving sources, the latter would still likely rewrite the material to exhibit his own stylistic ability (Brunt 1983: 529). The difficulty for a modern historian, given the above, is in knowing what weight should be given to these frequent embellishments in the narrative. What is true, what is partially true, what is pure fiction? Many believe that these speeches “deserve little credence” (Carney 1996: 33; Bosworth 1988: 96–134), even proclaiming the impossibility of distinguishing between truth and “plausible fiction” (Brunt 1983: 528). While special care needs to be taken with respect to these rhetorical flourishes, they are part of our surviving narrative. That surviving narrative itself is subject to the same framing, selection of material, interpretation, interpolation, as are the speeches. As a consequence, while great care should be taken in accepting this material, each speech should be analyzed on its own merits. These speeches at the least could plausibly have been made, and should reflect the author’s equivalent desire, as in the narrative, to present what in his view is an accurate reflection of the facts. Whatever biases exist certainly can more easily be amplified in the speeches, but this does not necessarily make the content automatically suspect. The core material could be reasonably accurate within the general constraints of ancient historical norms, which permitted a great deal more latitude than currently expected of today’s professional historians’ search for accuracy. This becomes important especially when speeches present additional evidence not just of attitudes but of events. Clearly with respect to the speaker’s motivation and beliefs great care must be taken, but where in the paraphrased words of Thucydides (1. 22. 1), the speaker appears to say what is called for by the moment and in concert with his/her character and actions, then, the gist of the comments should at least be taken into account. As with the narration of events, so with the speeches, rigorous examination should be made. In other words, the general content, not the specific language, should be accepted unless it can be shown to be inaccurate. To assume that the core should be discarded solely on the basis that it appears in a speech is carrying source criticism too far.

Another serious part of the problem of unraveling this particular Macedonian is that Alexander himself put forth an image of how he wished to be seen and a corresponding presentation of his motives. He sat for a portrait by Apelles of Cos, whose finished product depicted Alexander holding a thunderbolt (Plut. *Mor.* 335A; *Alex.* 4. 3). Alexander was obviously pleased, granting Apelles a handsome reward (Plin. *NH* 35. 92). Lysippus became Alexander's sculptor representing the king looking with his face turned toward the heavens with a slight inclination of his head to one side. Engraved supposedly on the statue were the verses: "Eager to speak seems the statue of bronze, up to Zeus as it gazes. Earth I have set under foot: Zeus, keep Olympus yourself!" (Plut. *Mor.* 335B).

Among the many artists, philosophers, geographers, and so on, who accompanied the army on the campaign, as noted, Alexander also had his own historian to record his deeds for posterity. Callisthenes, that court historian, in one of his surviving fragments describing Alexander's journey to the desert oasis of Siwah, emphasizes that Alexander set off to rival the heroes Perseus and Heracles (Str. 17. 1. 43=*FGrH* 124 F-14). Callisthenes' account, as reported by the Roman geographer Strabo, presents the entire episode in epic form. While the journey across the desert was difficult, it was one taken with some frequency, yet Alexander and his party suffer from thirst, which is relieved by a sudden shower, and when they become lost in the desert wastes, they are guided by crows or snakes. The entire episode concludes with the priest of Ammon/Zeus hailing Alexander as the son of Zeus. Dietmar Kienast (1987: 319–23) emphasizes the role of Callisthenes in giving the entire incident an "epischen klang." Timaeus, the early third-century BC Sicilian historian, apparently called Alexander's historian a flatterer (Polyb. 12. 12b). As court historian, it is likely that Callisthenes' work was reviewed by Alexander as it progressed and without much doubt the king would have approved or censured what he saw (Devine 1994: 97). His history did not, in any case, continue to the end of Alexander's reign. The historian was implicated in the Conspiracy of the Pages in 327 (see later chapter) and died some time thereafter (Heckel 2006: 77). That whatever had been written prior to his death was published might be seen as further evidence of Alexander's approval, at least, of the early parts, although the actual provenance of the work is unknown.

One particular aspect of Alexander's life and goals may have been the central theme of the court historian's work. Callisthenes reportedly had proclaimed his intention of gaining for Alexander a "share of divinity" (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10. 2). Our sources on a number of occasions state that Alexander's actions were dictated by his desire to emulate or to surpass the achievements of other men or heroes. His siege of Aornus was carried out in part because Heracles had failed in a similar attempt (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 28. 2, 30. 4; Curt. 8. 11. 2), and Arrian (*Anab.* 6. 24. 2) states that Alexander crossed the Gedrosian desert because "no one else with an army had done so successfully." Given that Callisthenes emphasizes the heroic character of the expedition and our sources also present incidents in which Alexander attempts to emulate or surpass the mythical heroes, and even the gods, it is more than likely that this was the image that Alexander wished to portray. The comment that Callisthenes would be responsible for the attribution of divine birth for Alexander, if correct, shows Alexander's desire to be seen as more than a mere mortal.

His use of propaganda also went beyond the portrayal of his self-image. He also used it with respect to his campaigns. Alexander presented himself until the destruction of the palace in Persepolis as an avenger of past wrongs committed by the Persians upon the Greeks and as the liberator of those supposedly long oppressed by Persian tyranny; themes exploited by his father before him (Squillace 2010: 69–80; Flower 2000: 96–135). After his occupation of the Persian heartland the propaganda changed. The Persians became Alexander's subjects and the proclaimed nature of the expedition now changed to one of naked conquest (see Chapter 5).

Even though the opinions of writers living hundreds of years after Alexander's death may not be trustworthy, these authors relied on contemporaries, some of whom had first-hand knowledge of the expedition and the king who led it. Today, we are much further removed and almost totally dependent on these later writers. As stated earlier, much has been written of the need to evaluate these still ancient historians in light of their own times, not just Alexander's. This is even a better idea when applied to today's scholars. Much of the modern criticism of Alexander comes from an evaluation of his career in terms of current values. While such criticism is certainly a viable approach and much that Alexander did should not be extolled to modern audiences,

such censure tends to hold Alexander and his contemporaries to standards they likely would not have recognized. When one considers that Alexander's society practiced slavery as a natural institution and engaged in warfare almost as a daily activity, his world and ours apparently had very different mores. Heraclitus, the pre-Socratic philosopher, wrote: "War is both king of all and father of all, and it has revealed some as gods, others as men, it has made some slaves, others free" (no. 22, fragment B53). As one modern commentator has noted, "no Greek community would have recognized 'conscientious objection' to war" (Dover 1974: 158). For both Plato and Aristotle, training for war was essential for developing the leadership qualities necessary to lead a state. In the *Republic*, war is a necessary component for training the guardians, and therefore it is a necessary part of the composition of a "just" city-state (467B). Wars are fought to protect the commonwealth, to train its guardians, and "to provide the community with sufficient resources" (*Rep.* 373D). Even though Aristotle (*Pol.* 1333a30) states that wars must be fought for the sake of peace, the philosopher went on to list just reasons for going to war. Two of these were the acquisition of material goods (1256b15) and the correct ordering of society, in which some are by nature to be masters and others also by nature slaves (1255a3, 1333b37). Racism was then very much part of a Greek's self-concept. In general, the Greeks divided the world into Hellenes and barbarians.¹⁰ Aristotle further differentiates between Hellenes, Europeans, and Asians, associating these distinctions with climate (*Pol.* 1327b 23–8):

The nations inhabiting the cold places and those of Europe are full of spirit but somewhat deficient in intelligence and skill, so that they continue comparatively free, but lacking in political organization and capacity to rule their neighbors. The peoples of Asia on the other hand are intelligent and skillful in temperament, but lack spirit, so that they are in continuous subjection and slavery. But the Greek race participates in both characters, just as it occupies the middle position geographically, for it is both spirited and intelligent; hence it continues to be free and to have very good political institutions, and to be capable of ruling all mankind if it attains constitutional unity.

This theory might be called “the Goldilocks hypothesis” of racism: not too hot, not too cold, just right.

Plato argues that Greeks are naturally at war with barbarians, but should not be so with fellow Greeks. War, therefore, with fellow Greeks according to this philosopher is contrary to nature, but war with non-Greeks was proper (*Rep.* 5. 470C). In this belief, he is followed by Isocrates. “That war is the most necessary and the most righteous which we wage in alliance with the Hellenes against the barbarians, who are by nature our foes and are eternally plotting against us” [12. 163; *Isoc.* 4. 182]). Plato (*Leg.* 1. 625E–626A) speaks of “lifelong war” and “peace . . . is nothing more than a name, the truth being that every state, by a law of nature, engages perpetually in an informal war with every other state.” With respect to the ubiquity of warfare, one modern commentator (Hanson 1989: 89), referring to the fifth-century BC, but the statement could equally apply to the fourth, states that the average citizen of a city-state saw combat on average two out of every three years. This is not to say that ancient evils are not still practiced in our world, but that slavery and warfare as a means to pursue glory or as an acceptable form of theft through strength are in general thought to be aspects of criminal activity, and so they are presented in the United Nations’ 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery and the United Nations Charter, Article 51. The latter states that war is only justified for self-defense. In contrast, the concept that there was “a right of conquest” permeates Greek writing on war (*Xen. Cyr.* 3. 3. 45; *Arist. Pol.* 1255a5–7; *Polyb.* 2. 58. 9–10). In Alexander’s day warfare as a means of wreaking revenge, or aggrandizement, was seen as acceptable. Alexander himself claimed Darius’ domains as a prize of war (*Arr. Anab.* 2. 14. 9; 3. 16. 2). Indeed, one of the fourth century’s noted political thinkers, Isocrates, endorsed war and slavery as a means of achieving what in a later time and place might be called *lebensrahm*. In his *Letter to Philip*, he writes, “Be assured that a glory unsurpassable and worthy of the deeds you have done in the past will be yours when you shall compel the barbarians . . . to be ‘helots’ [serfs] of the Greeks” (*Isoc. Letter* 3. 5; see also 4. 17, 182; 5. 9).

Even given the mores of the time, Alexander on many occasions exceeded even these common values in his brutality. When the city of Thebes was captured after a brief siege, Alexander oversaw

its physical destruction and the enslavement of the population. Even though the destruction of this Hellenic city technically was ordered by his Greek allies (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 9. 9; Diod. 17. 14. 4), it is clear that Alexander could have prevented the destruction, if he so wished. Diodorus suggests that it was Alexander's way of giving possible future rebels a horrific warning. Alexander was equally savage after the capture of Tyre (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 24. 5; Curt. 4. 4. 17; Diod. 17. 46. 4) and against the Malli, an Indian people, where his campaign has been termed "a clear example of conquest through terror" (Bosworth 1996A: 142). Slaughtering one's enemies, sacking cities, and enslaving populations, however, were viewed as standard at the time. As one modern commentator has stated, "The Greek law of war did not encompass humanitarian ideals. Instead, it focused on protecting sacred objects and observances. The great irony here is that despite the central role played by religion and honor in the Greek laws of war, these laws were indifferent to considerations of mercy and the protection of noncombatants" (Lanni 2008: 470). The second-century BC historian Polybius (5. 10. 6–8) praises Alexander for inflicting his punishment on men and sparing temples and other religious structures.

In their assessments of Alexander, our surviving authors present an Alexander who loved "honor and danger" and "cared for religion" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 28. 1). While Curtius (10. 5. 29) comments that his desire for "glory and renown" was greater than was proper, he overlooks this fault proclaiming that Alexander was young and had, indeed, accomplished "glorious deeds," which is a view that Plutarch (*Alex.* 1. 1) and Diodorus (17. 1. 4) both endorse. Alexander was raised with the belief that he was the descendant of both Heracles and Achilles, and as such he was expected to exemplify the heroic ideals of personal achievement, honor, glory, and renown, achieved primarily in warfare. As Macedonian king and in line with Macedonian tradition, like his hero Achilles, he was destined to be a warrior.

One success after another had augmented his view of himself as more than just invincible. In Egypt, he had been proclaimed the son of Zeus, and in Babylon his welcome was such that not even the later celebrated Roman triumph could surpass it in pomp (Curt. 5. 1. 20–2). In the end, he no longer viewed himself as just a first among near equals according to Macedonian tradition. His

achievements put him in his own mind well above any and all. After Babylon, however, while the campaign continued and success was still most often the result, these were difficult campaigns with fewer grand victories and with growing dissatisfaction among his subordinate commanders and his troops, in part the result of Alexander's attempt to change the long-standing relationship between himself as king and the Macedonians, from one of camaraderie to that of transcendent figure and subordinates. He had moved from being the King of Macedonia and the leader of the Greek allies, to the self-proclaimed "King of Asia" and the recipient of honors worthy of a god.

1

The Macedonian background

Prior to the reigns of Macedonia's two most famous kings, Philip II and his son Alexander III, the Great, the term Macedonian had not achieved a national status (Diod. 16. 8. 1; see Billows 1995: 1). This rural, mostly pastoral, society virtually broke on the world scene from out of nowhere. Prior to the mid-fourth-century BC, Macedonia had been subject to frequent incursions by her tribal neighbors to the west, east, and north, chiefly and respectively, the Epirotes, Thracians, and Illyrians; and also by the forces of the southern Greek city-states, the *poleis*. The latter exploited the region for its large resources of minerals and especially timber, which was the mainstay of the naval forces of Macedonia's southern neighbors. Moreover, Macedonians were not commonly seen as true Greeks before or even during the reigns of these illustrious rulers. Throughout the Classical Age most Greeks acknowledged a distinction between themselves and the Macedonians, despite their many cultural affinities, due primarily to the lack of cities and the city-state culture of the more urbanized south (Anson 2004: 201–3). The region was ruled by kings and powerful aristocrats, not the assemblies that characterized the governments of the *poleis*. This general belief that the Macedonians were not true Greeks is evidenced by their inability to participate in the various Panhellenic activities of the Greek world. Only the kings were permitted to participate in the Olympic Games, the great celebration of the chief Greek god Zeus (Hdts. 5. 22). The Argead or Temenid ruling family, was generally acknowledged by contemporaries and vigorously

argued by the members of the royal family themselves, to have arisen in the Peloponnesian city-state of Argos. The kings down to the death of Alexander the Great's son and heir, Alexander IV, were by tradition descended from the Argive Temenus, thus the family was often referred to as Temenid (Hdt. 8.137–9, Thuc. 2.99.3). The ruling family was also called Argead, a term that apparently derives from a tribal name, "Argeas, the son of Macedon" (Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Argeou*), but which also came to be associated with their claimed Argive origin.

It is even questionable when the appellation Macedonia came to be generally applied to the great plain formed by the Axios and the Haliacmon Rivers and its surrounding mountains in the northern Greek peninsula (Borza 1990: 99). Certainly by the fifth-century BC, Herodotus and Thucydides both speak of the plain as Lower, and the plateau, as Upper Macedonia.¹ Lower Macedonia was at least in theory a united country ruled by a king. The region of Upper Macedonia was only permanently joined to Lower Macedonia during the reign of Philip II (Diod. 16. 8. 1; Dell 1963: 62–99, 1970: 115–26; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 14–31, 650–6). Prior to this time, although the peoples of Upper Macedonia, the Orestians, Lyncestians, Tymphaeans, and Elimeians may have been brought under the control of the Lower Macedonian king during the period of Persian domination (c. 513–479 BC), these cantons had their own separate governments, paying at most lip service allegiance to the Lower Macedonian king (Thuc. 2. 99. 2; IG I³ 89).

Prior to unification, the Upper Macedonians maintained their independence often by armed conflict and alliances with the Lower Macedonian kings' enemies. In 433, Derdas I, king of Elimeia, had allied himself with the Athenians and a pretender to the throne of what was in effect Lower Macedonia (Thuc. 1. 57. 3). Derdas II likewise ruled an independent Elimeia and formed an alliance with the Spartans in 382 BC against the Olynthians (Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 38). In the late 420s, Arrhabaeus, the king of Lyncestis, was openly hostile to the Lower Macedonian kings (Arist. *Pol.* 5. 8. 1311b; Borza 1990: 150–1, 163–4).

Even with political unification, certain distinctions between Lower and Upper Macedonia remained during the reigns of Philip and Alexander. The Macedonian army was built on regional recruitment with the command structure of the forces especially from Upper Macedonia dominated by members of these areas' local,

hereditary, nobility. When Alexander crossed to Asia, Perdicas, from the canton of Orestis (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 28. 4; *Ind.* 18. 5) and descended from the former kings of that upland region (Curt. 10. 7. 8), commanded the battalion from Orestis and Lyncestis (Diod. 17. 57. 2); the Elimeian Coenus, that from Elimeia (Heckel 1992: 58–9), and Polyperchon, that from his native Tymphaea (Diod. 17. 57. 2). Later in 333, Polyperchon's unit was commanded by Ptolemaeus, the son of Seleucus, perhaps, another Tymphaean (Heckel 2006: 234–5).

While our only information comes from the reign of Alexander the Great, it would still appear that the infantry during Philip's reign from Lower Macedonia was not ethnically organized, or routinely led by aristocrats from that region. In the army at Gaugamela, the overall commanders were Meleager, Philip, the son of Balacrus (Diod. 17. 57. 3; Curt. 4. 13. 28), and Craterus (Diod. 17. 57. 2–3). Of these Meleager was probably from Lyncestas (Heckel 2006: 159), while Craterus was from Orestis (Arr. *Ind.* 18. 5), and Philip's origin is unknown (Heckel 2006: 211–12). It is most likely, however, that before the reigns of these two monarchs, all infantry and cavalry were commanded by local representatives of the nobility. It was only in the reign of Philip II that Macedonia developed any significant heavy infantry (see Chapter 2).

Another distinction between the two regions was, the greater urbanization that existed in lowland Macedonia, while in the period before Macedonian's two most famous monarchs minimal even in Lower Macedonia (Millett 2010: 480). During the reign of Alexander the Great, Macedonians from the plain were often associated with particular cities, not with regional areas. In the listing of the honorary trierarchs for Alexander's voyage down the Indus in 326, most Macedonians associated with Lower Macedonia are listed as from the cities of Pella, Pydna, Amphipolis, Mieza, Alcomenae, Aegae, Aloris, or Beroea; those from Upper Macedonia, from the districts of Orestis and Tymphaea (Arr. *Ind.* 18. 3–6). However, many of those listed as from these lowland cities were originally from Upper Macedonia, and must have received estates from the king near these communities. For example, Leonnatus is described in Nearchus' list of the trierarchs of the Indian fleet as a Macedonian from Pella (Arr. *Ind.* 18. 3), but was a member of the Lyncestian royal house (see Heckel 1992: 91; 2006: 147; Hammond and Griffith 1979; 352–3, 409–10). The different listing

of the individuals from the two districts and the close association of troops from Upper Macedonia with commanders from the same areas, and the seeming absence of such close association for troops and commanders from Lower Macedonia might suggest that those from the latter were more integrated into the Macedonian state, having replaced their regional affiliations with a national one long ago. However, lowland aristocrats are not always associated with communities in Alexander's command. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, Peithon, son of Crateuas, and Aristonous, son of Peisaeus, are listed as from Eordaea, a lowland district, without any reference to a municipality (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 28. 4; *Ind.* 18. 5); there was also a Bottiaean unit of the Companion cavalry (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 2. 5). Moreover, apparently until relatively late in the campaign, the troops, including new arrivals, were brigaded according to region (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 10–11). A similar sort of division was employed in the Macedonian cavalry. Against the Triballians in 335, Philotas led the cavalry of Upper Macedonia, and Heracleides and Sopolis led the cavalry from Bottiaea and Amphipolis (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 2. 5). What is remarkable is that while the upland regions had long maintained their at least practical independence from their Lower Macedonian neighbors, once joined, there is little evidence of dissatisfaction with the union by these formerly independent districts. In the centuries following Philip II's annexation of Upper Macedonia (Diod. 16. 8. 1; see also 16. 1. 5), right up to the Roman conquest, there is only one attested revolt of an area roughly corresponding to a former Upper Macedonian kingdom, and that, if it occurred at all, took place in 197 BC (Polyb. 18. 47. 6), one-and-a-half centuries after its annexation. While A. B. Bosworth (1971: 105) believes this is evidence that "the incorporation of the mountain kingdoms [Upper Macedonia] proved ultimately unsuccessful," Miltiades Hatzopoulos (1996A: 103) challenges the very existence of the revolt, calling it, perhaps, "a pious fiction invented by the Romans." In any case, a single revolt is hardly evidence of ongoing hostility to the merger of the two Macedonian districts. That the union was so successful relates to the accepted belief in the two districts' common ethnicity, and also to the benefits given to various groups by their new king Philip (see Chapter 2).

With respect to the acceptance of a common ethnicity, the earliest tradition holds that the original Macedonians were a group of related tribes, part of whom moved from the western mountains

down into the central plain during the period from about 650 to 550 BC (Thuc. 2. 99. 1–3; 4. 83. 1).² According to Strabo (7. 7. 8–9; 9. 5. 11), a geographer of the early Roman imperial period, the tribes that came to inhabit Upper Macedonia were not Macedonian at all, but from, the western neighboring district of Epirus. However, the fifth-century BC historian Thucydides (2. 99. 2) clearly saw these groups as Macedonians in an ethnic sense. When the “Macedonian” tribes moved into the coastal plain either in the early- or mid-seventh-century BC (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 4; Borza 1990: 87), most of those encountered were expelled from their lands and replaced by Macedonian settlers. These included the original Pierians, Bottiaians, Edonians, Eordaeans, Almopians, Crestonians, and Bisaltians (Thuc. 2. 99. 2–6; see Ellis 1976: 36). With respect to the last two, the nature of the conquest is unclear. They may have already migrated from Bisaltia and Crestonia into the northern mountains to escape Xerxes’ advance into Greece (Hdts. 8. 116. 1). Alexander I (498–454) then would have moved into evacuated territory. Even though according to Herodotus the Bisaltians fled north, where they maintained their independence into the reign of Perseus (Livy 44. 45. 8; 45. 29. 7, 30. 3), many Bisaltians and Crestonians are later found living in Chalcidice (Thuc. 4. 109. 4), suggesting that the evacuations and expulsions related to the Persians and to the campaign of Alexander were not as complete as indicated by the sources with many of these peoples, perhaps, remaining in their original homelands.

In addition to these, perhaps, holdovers from the initial conquest, over the years many others migrated to Macedonia, coming from southern Greece, Illyria, Paeonia, Thrace, and elsewhere. From at least the time of Alexander I, migration of Greeks from the south to Macedonia was encouraged. Even though many of these refugees came as communities, they are not found subsequently as distinct entities in Macedonia. When Mycenae was destroyed by Argos, over half the population came to Macedonia on Alexander I’s invitation (Paus. 7. 25. 6). Similarly in 446, when the Athenian Pericles captured Histiaeia on Euboea, the inhabitants took refuge in Macedonia (FGrH 115 F-387). As people coming from *poleis*, it is possible that they were associated with Macedonian urban populations, but these at this time were few. While Hammond (1995A: 126 n. 20) argues on the basis of Thuc. 4. 124. 1, “Perdiccas meanwhile marched . . . to Lyncus . . . [leading] a force of Macedonians, . . . and

a body of Hellenic hoplites domiciled in that country,” that these Greek migrants maintained their identity, A. W. Gomme (1974: 612) rightly sees these “Hellenic hoplites” as coming from the independent Greek coastal cities, such as Pydna. Hoplites are most often associated with Greek city-states and by-and-large represent these communities’ middle class. Typically these heavy infantrymen were to supply their own equipment, the round, three-foot in diameter shield, the seven-to-eight-foot stabbing spear, grieves, and breastplate, since the cities themselves were seldom wealthy enough to do so. Macedonia, although a wealthy region (Millett 2010), with certain products even seen as royal monopolies, especially timber and minerals (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 157; Borza 1987 B: 39–40; 1982: 11–12; Hatzopoulos 1996A: 43), possessed few hoplites. This was a product of a number of factors. Much of the trade of the hinterland was exported through the independent Greek cities along the Macedonian coast, the hinterland often controlled by noble barons. Additionally, with little urban population or middle class, the state would have had to supply each soldier with the hoplite panoply. These economic limitations when combined with the lack of a tradition of heavy infantry warfare meant that until the reign of Philip II, that arm of the military was always in short supply. The dominant military arm of Macedonia was its aristocratic cavalry with its infantry primarily being light-armed. The vast majority of the Macedonian population prior to the reigns of Philip II and Alexander III were likely much like that of the *hectemoroi* and the *pelatai* of Solonian Athens (*Ath. Pol.* 2. 2; Plut. *Sol.* 13. 4–5). These impoverished tenant farmer and dependent pastoralist *hectemoroi* were Macedonians, and though similar to the Thessalian *penestai*, the *laoi* of Hellenistic Asia, and the Spartan helots in their dependent status, they were not an indigenous, conquered population, as were the latter groups. A large number of these individuals would be freed from this serf-like status by Philip II (see Chapter 3; Anson 2008B: 17–30).

Despite Macedonia being a land of much diversity, with its population including a mixture of peoples ranging from southern Greek immigrants to those from the neighboring regions of Thrace and Illyria, among others, the evidence suggests that this region was certainly part of the Greek cultural milieu in the fifth century and, by the end of the fourth century, was recognized as such by the inhabitants of the southern regions of the peninsula. While Aristotle

(*Pol.* 7. 1324b) listed the Macedonians among the barbarians, others regarded them as either people related to the Greeks or even as Greeks. In *The Catalogue of Women*, attributed in antiquity to Hesiod, it states that “the district Macedonia took its name from Macedon, the son of Zeus and Thyia, Deucalion’s daughter, and she conceived and bore to Zeus who delights in the thunderbolt two sons, Magnes and Macedon, rejoicing in horses, who dwell round about Pieria and Olympus” (West 1985: 127–30, 169–71). The ancestor of the Macedonians is then the nephew of Hellen, the forebear of the Hellenes. However, by the end of the fifth century, with Hellanicus, the Greek logographer, Macedon becomes the son of Aeolus, a son of Hellen and ancestor of the Aeolians, and hence in the direct line of descent from Hellen (*FGrH* 4 F 74). By the fifth-century BC, if not before, Macedonia and the southern Greeks shared most of the same gods, and the Greek alphabet and language were employed for written communication. Of the roughly 6300 inscriptions recovered within the confines of what was ancient Macedonia, approximately 99 percent were written in Greek (Panayotou 2007: 436), and the legends on all currently discovered Macedonian coins are in Greek (Price 1974). The evidence also suggests that the language spoken by most Macedonians was a dialect of Greek (Voutiras 1996: 678–82; Masson 1996: 905–6).

Politically the government of Macedonia was an autocracy. Indeed, in theory, the Macedonian king was the kingdom. While our evidence for earlier reigns is sparse, with respect to Philip II, Isocrates (5. 107–8) notes that Macedonia was subject to the rule of “one man,” and Demosthenes (1. 4) comments that Philip was the sole director of his policy, “uniting the roles of general, ruler, and treasurer,” and “was responsible to nobody: the absolute autocrat, commander, and master of everybody and everything” (*Dem.* 18. 235). G. T. Griffith (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 384) correctly declares: “there was simply no government apart from the king.” The king apparently on his own authority determined the taxes to be paid and saw to their collection (*Arr. Anab.* 7. 10. 4; *Plut. Demetr.* 42. 3–4; *Mor.* 178A–179C). Miltiades Hatzopoulos (1996A: 431–5) argues that the king was only the trustee of the “people’s” money. Even if this were technically true, there is no evidence of any regulatory body overseeing or disciplining the king. Moreover, the king’s control over his population in many ways could be profound. Amyntas I in 505 BC had offered the entire region

of Anthemus and its people to the Athenian Hippias (Hdts. 5. 94. 1).³ The king controlled much of the kingdom's natural resources (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 157). He controlled foreign policy. It was the Macedonian king to whom embassies were sent (Hdt. 5. 17; Dem. 18. 24, 19. 12, 229; Aeschin. 2. 12, 18), and from whom embassies departed.⁴ This is clear in the reports of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Peace of Philocrates. It was to be a treaty between the Athenians and their allies and Philip and his allies (Dem. 19. 159, 278; Aeschin. 2. 84, 137; 3. 65). The peace was to end a war between Athens and Philip (Dem. 18. 235, 19. 93), and it was ratified in Pella by solemn oaths taken by the Athenian ambassadors on the one hand and by Philip on the other.⁵ Indeed, the Athenian ambassadors had to wait a considerable period of time in Pella for Philip's return before the treaty could be ratified (Dem. 19. 155; see also 19. 57). Moreover, it is always the Macedonian king's name alone, usually without even the suffix "of the Macedonians," which is mentioned by Greek contemporaries. Philip accepts the surrender of the Phocians at the conclusion of the Third Sacred War (Dem. 19. 62), not the representatives of the Macedonians, and it is Philip who receives the two seats on the Amphictyonic Council formerly held by the Phocians (Diod. 16. 60. 1; Dem. 19. 111; Speusippas' *Letter to Philip* 8), not the Macedonian people. Diodorus, in particular, is very clear that the two seats were Philip's and his heirs.⁶ The other seats were held by peoples: the Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebi, Magnetes, Dolopians, Locrians, Oetaeans, Phthiotians, and Malians (Aeschin. 2. 116). This omission of any reference to the Macedonians is common. The Pythian Games of 345 were to be held by the Boeotians, the Thessalians, and Philip (Dem. 19. 128; Diod. 16. 60. 2). Demosthenes (18. 36; 19. 83) routinely speaks of Philip without title or reference to the Macedonians. This usage was common practice well before the reign of Philip II. In Thucydides (4. 82), the Athenians proclaimed Perdiccas their enemy, not the Macedonians, and at the Congress of 371, it was Amyntas III, the father of Philip II, who was entitled to a seat without reference to the Macedonian state or people (Aeschin. 2. 32). In general, prior to Alexander the Great, there are few references even to the title "King of the Macedonians," and these are meant to be primarily geographically descriptive (Errington 1974: 20).

It was the king who declared war and made peace, commanded the armies, and served as the intermediary between the gods and

the people (Anson 1985B: 304–7; Borza 1990: 238). There was no professional priesthood; the monarch made the sacrifices and obtained the favor of the gods,⁷ and presided over the sacred festivals (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 1; Dem. 19. 192; Diod. 16. 91. 4; Athen. 13. 572D–E). This religious aura carried over into the ceremonies performed for a dead king. On the death of a monarch a lustration was carried out (Just. 13. 4. 7; Curt. 10. 9. 11–12), funeral games and sacrifices were performed (Diod. 18. 28. 4, 19. 52. 5; Just. 9. 7. 11, 11. 2. 1; Athen. 4. 155A). The body would then be formally laid to rest in the royal tombs at Aegae (Borza 1990: 167, 256–60). Thereafter, sacrifices were made to the dead king.⁸ This sacral nature of the monarchy likely accounts for the success of the Argeads in monopolizing the kingship.

Elizabeth Carney, followed by Gene Borza and Lynette Mitchell, has concluded that in Macedonia it was the entire Argead clan that possessed this sacral power, this charismatic authority (Carney 2000C: 7–8; Borza 1999: 14–15; Mitchell 2007: 62–3). Kings then were simply the leaders or chiefs chosen from among the extended Argead family. In the period prior to the reign of Philip II, the Macedonian “kingship” had many residual qualities of its original tribal beginnings, and every member of the Argead house was a possible “charismatic” leader. It was the descent of the clan, not that of any particular individual or family branch, that conferred divine preference. Certainly the ability of the Argeads to dominate the monarchy and that in almost every succession there appeared numerous Argead pretenders to the throne supports this position. Divisions, then, within the aristocracy or factions within the royal family could, and most often did, lead to succession crises. However, few Macedonian monarchs lost their lives in armed struggles over the succession, but many died as the result of palace intrigues. No Argead monarch lost his life as the result of a popular uprising. Archelaus (Arist. *Pol.* 1311b 11–12),⁹ Amyntas II (Arist. *Pol.* 1311b 4), Pausanias (Diod. 14. 89. 2), Alexander II (Diod. 15. 71. 1; *FGrHist* 135/6 p. 739 F 11=Athen. 14. 629D), and Philip II, himself, were all killed in palace conspiracies of a highly personal nature.

The Macedonian kingship during the Argead dynasty did not possess a very systematic succession process. There were, however, elements that suggest the existence of certain *nomoi* (customs) related to the royal succession within the Argead clan. Sons most often did follow fathers on the throne. Herodotus (8. 139) lists the

first seven kings of Macedonia: “From that Perdiccas Alexander was descended, being the son of Amyntas who was the son of Alcetas; Alcetas’ father was Aëropus, and his was Philip; Philip’s father was Argæus, and his again was Perdiccas.” In the more historical period, Alexander I was the son of Amyntas I¹⁰; Perdiccas II, son of Alexander I (Thuc. 1. 57. 2); Archelaus, son of Perdiccas (Thuc. 2. 100. 2; Pl. *Grg.* 471a); Pausanias, son of Aëropus (with, perhaps, the intervening rule of Amyntas II [Arist. 1311b3–15; Diod. 14. 84. 6]); Alexander II (Diod. 15. 60. 3; Just. 7. 4. 8; Aeschin. 2. 26), Perdiccas III (Diod. 16. 2. 4; Schol. on Aeschin. 2. 29), and Philip II (Diod. 16. 2. 1), the sons of Amyntas III.

The kingship was not a constitutional office in a highly developed state and lacked most of the formality ordinarily associated with royalty. Even the succession process lacked anything like constitutional formality (Carney 1983: 260–72; Mitchell 2007: 61–74). Disputed successions were common with multiple candidates often claiming a royal title through a show of force and often with foreign assistance. Since the succession was tied to membership in the clan and not a particular family, with no express rules for primogeniture, there was no formal process for the creation of regencies for an immature king. Such regencies would only occur when someone outside of the Argead clan seized power and ruled in the name of such an Argead, otherwise, given the very nature of Macedonian kingship, some adult Argead would be king.

Kings, however, could be guardians for younger male relatives, but the royal authority would rest with the adult Argead (Anson 2009A: 276–86). It is a misunderstanding of this possibility on the part of Justin’s source or of Justin himself that leaves that author to conclude that Perdiccas’ son Amyntas became king and Philip II his regent (*tutor*), “rather than king himself” (Just. 7. 5. 9). Both Diodorus (16. 2. 1) and the Scholiast on Aeschines 3. 51 state that Philip became king in the archonship of Callimedes in the first year of the 105th Olympiad (360/359) and reigned for 24 years (Diod. 16. 1. 3). Since this monarch was assassinated in 336 (Diod. 16. 91. 1; 17. 2. 1), this would give very little time, if any, for a regency. In addition, there is no reference to such a regency in either Demosthenes or Aeschines, where, especially in Demosthenes, this would appear a singular omission, given his penchant for listing every real or imagined abuse of power by the Macedonian monarch. He never accuses Philip of setting aside the “true king.” Also, the

context of Justin's notice follows that author's description of King Perdiccas III's death as the result of an assassination plot directed by his mother Eurydice (7. 5. 6). Not only is this not mentioned in any other source, but Diodorus (16. 2. 4), our main narrative source for Philip's career, declares that Perdiccas died on the battlefield at the hands of the Illyrians. Justin's chronological context further calls his listing of a regency into question. Despite stating that Philip was *tutor* for the young Amyntas for a long time (7. 5. 9), he goes on to say that "at the start of his reign" Philip was "plagued with trouble" (7. 6. 3), noting that his first contest was with a contingent of Athenians (Just. 7. 6. 6). This must refer to the attempt by the Athenian supported pretender Argaeus to wrest the throne from Philip soon after Perdiccas' defeat and death (Diod. 16. 2. 6, 3. 5–6; Dem. 23. 121; Just. 7. 6. 6). Argaeus marched to Aegae with Athenian support and was ambushed by Philip on his return.

Justin, like too many modern commentators, assumes that Macedon had a formal succession and regency process. *Tutor*, then, should not be seen as referring to a formal regent, but rather to a guardian. Philip II, then, at the time of his accession, became the guardian for his potential heir, the son of his dead brother. *Tutor* most often has the meaning of guardian. With the birth of Philip's likely first son, Arrhidaeus, the son of Philinna, probably born in 357 (for the date, Griffith 1970: 69–72, 79; Greenwalt 1985: 70; contra: Ehrhardt 1967: 296–301), Amyntas became only a second-tier heir. This likely accounts for the confusion in Justin. Philip, as king, was the guardian for his young nephew not only for the sake of his brother but also for the sake of the kingdom until he produced sons of his own.

In addition to the doubtful regency for Amyntas Perdiccas mentioned above, there are two other claimed regencies; one for Orestes, the son of King Archelaus I (413–399), and that for the future Perdiccas III by Ptolemy of Alorus. In the case of Orestes, while "still a boy . . . he received the rule" of Macedon after the death of his father, and was subsequently killed by his erstwhile protector Aëropus (Diod. 14. 37. 6). As with the case of Philip and his ward Amyntas, the true nature of the situation has been misunderstood by either Diodorus or his source. Aëropus became king and guardian for Orestes, but having a son of his own, Pausanias, he eliminated his ward to make way for this child (Diod. 14. 84. 6). Coins have been found for both Aëropus and his son Pausanias, even though

the latter only served a year (Diod. 14. 89. 2), but none have been found for Orestes. A true regent, then, in the sense of a place-holder as opposed to a king and guardian of a young ward, would only emerge when someone outside of the Argead family seized power. Such a situation arose with Ptolemy of Alorus's regency for Perdiccas III. After the assassination of King Alexander II,¹¹ Ptolemy became, according to some sources the guardian (*epitropos*) for the slain king's brother, Perdiccas III (Aeschin. 2. 29; Plut. *Pel.* 27. 3), and in other sources, *basileus* in his own right (Diod. 15. 71. 1, 77. 5; Euseb. *Chron.* 228). Despite the confusion in the sources, this was a true regency (Anson 2009A: 276–86). Telling against Ptolemy the guardian being the Argead ruler is the frequent reference to Alorus, the demotic. In a society where kings are seldom referenced other than by their name, this use of the demotic would be unique. Additionally, no coins have been found that were issued in his name (Beloch 1927: 3. 2. 67; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 183), and his marriage to Eurydice, the wife of Amyntas III, along with his previous one to her daughter, Eurynoe, suggest that Ptolemy needed a marital connection to a member of the royal family to forge a link to the Argead clan (Just. 7. 4. 7; Aeschin. 2. 29). While Ptolemy of Alorus is called both *epitropos* and *basileus* by our sources, the ascription of *epitropos*, but not *basileus*, by the contemporary Aeschines indicates, along with the frequent use of the demotic, the marriages into the Argead clan, and the absence of coinage in his name, that he was never officially king, only regent.

While the Macedonian king was in theory an autocrat, Macedonia was not a bureaucratic state. In fact, there was virtually no bureaucracy until the reigns of Philip and Alexander. The king ruled through his *hetairoi*, his companions. These individuals were mostly members of the powerful landed Macedonian aristocracy, although some were from different lands. They were in a very real sense the government. They acted as the king's ambassadors, military commanders, governors, religious representatives, and personal advisers. These *hetairoi* formed, apart from the king, the basic political institution of the Macedonian state (Stagakis 1962: 53–67; 1970: 86–102). Their relationship, however, with the king was regarded by them as personal, not institutional. The *hetairoi* were formally tied to the monarch by religious and social bonds; they sacrificed to the gods, hunted, drank, and fought with the king. While there are a number of difficulties with the oft-repeated

statement that the Macedonian kingship was Homeric,¹² in the particular case of the *hetairoi* there are clear parallels. The Myrmidons were the “*hetairoi*” of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 16. 168–70, 269), and even the Trojan Aeneas had his own “*hetairoi*” (*Il.* 13. 489–92). With these individuals the respective hero enjoyed a close personal relationship. The hero and his *hetairoi*, like their Macedonian counterparts, fought and shared their leisure activities, and the interaction of the Macedonian king and his companions could be as fractious as that of the Greek champions in the epic. As indicated earlier, it was not unusual for Macedonian kings to lose their lives at the hands of disgruntled Macedonian aristocrats.

While the vast majority of the *hetairoi* were native Macedonians from prominent aristocratic families, some were not, but rather foreigners attracted to Macedonia by the direct invitation of the king (*FGrH* 115 F-224). Of the 84 individuals identified as members of Alexander the Great’s *hetairoi*, nine were Greeks (Stagakis 1962: 79–87). Foreign *hetairoi*, like their Macedonian counterparts, would be given large tracts of land by the king (Athen. 6. 261A). Land and booty were the means by which a monarch cemented his relationship with his subordinates (Samuel 1988: 1276; see also, Billows 1995: 137; Borza 1990: 215). This was certainly part of the traditional *hetairos* relationship. Macedonian kings gave their aristocratic companions vast tracts of land (*FGrH* 115 F-225B; Plut. *Alex.* 15.3–6). Philip II granted all of the land north of Agora to one Apollonides of Cardia ([Dem.] 7. 39, 7. 44; Dem. 8. 64). Nearchus, Alexander’s fleet commander from Crete, and Laomedon, the Mytilenian, are listed as Macedonians from Amphipolis (Arr. *Ind.* 18. 4). These foreign *hetairoi* were obviously the recipients of royal land. Even though the earliest reference to a Macedonian *hetairos* dates from the reign of Archelaus I (413–399) (Ael. *VH* 13. 4) and it has been claimed that the institution derives from Persian antecedents (Kienast 1973: 248–67), the relationship likely dates back to the Bronze Age (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 158–9).

The very personal nature of the Macedonian monarchy made the king a charismatic leader subject to constant review by his subjects. Macedonian kingship also lacked most of the formality ordinarily associated with royalty. As Lindsay Adams (1986: 43–52) has noted, Macedonians of any social background believed that they had the right to petition the king personally concerning their grievances. It was part of Macedonian custom for the people to address the king

in person and express their opinions openly. There is a reported tale that a Macedonian king (either Philip II [Plut. *Mor.* 179 C-D], or Demetrius I [Plut. *Demetr.* 42. 11], the same incident is claimed for both¹³) once begged off hearing the case of a “poor woman,” claiming he was too busy, she responded that he should then give up being king. The Macedonians saw themselves as having the right to have their grievances heard (Adams 1986: 32–52). Demetrius Poliorcetes later angered his Macedonian subjects during his brief reign as king Demetrius I (294–288 BC) by not granting them access to his person, refusing to accept and read their petitions. On one occasion he accepted the petitions, but then tossed them unread in the river Axios. As a result of this great familiarity between ruler and subject, the *de facto* power of the king depended much on the personality and ability of the particular monarch. Even the title of king was apparently not an official part of Macedonian royal nomenclature prior to the reign of Alexander the Great (Errington 1974: 20–37). The king’s personal name without official title was sufficient when the circumstances made the position of the Macedonian monarch clear. This personal aspect of rule was especially true in the army where the king was literally the first to engage and the last to leave the battle (for a discussion of this royal role, see Carney 1996: 28–31).

This lack of much social separation between the king and his subjects has suggested to many that ordinary Macedonians had a direct say in their affairs through the existence of a national Macedonian assembly empowered to elect kings and judge cases of treason. First put forth by F. Granier (1931), the position has, in recent years, been supported with modifications by Hammond (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 161–2), L. Mooren (1983: 205–40), and Miltiades Hatzopoulos (1996A: 261–322). The evidence, however, is not convincing (see Errington 1978: 77–133; Anson 1985B: 303–16; 1991: 230–47). When supposed incidences of assemblies are examined, they turn out to be not constitutional entities but ad hoc assemblages called by the king for a variety of reasons, but in no case involving any mandatory requirement that they be summoned.

Part of the argument for the existence of an assembly in Macedonia is the presence of some such body in the neighboring state of Epirus. While the evidence is spotty, the prominence of tribal institutions is here patent. During the time of Philip II there were 14 Epirote tribes

(Str. 7. 7. 5). According to Thucydides, in his time, the Chaonians and the Thesprotians did not have kings (Thuc. 2. 80. 5). In the case of the former two members of the royal family were selected "to the chieftainship for that year." The Molossians, however, did have a king, who like his counterpart in Macedonia came from one particular clan (Just. 17. 3. 9; Thuc. 2. 80. 6). According to Diodorus (18. 36. 4) from the time when Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, was king until the reign of Aeacides, sons had always succeeded to their fathers' authority and had died on the throne. The Molossians, however, may have had from earliest times, additionally, annual officials and a "senate" (Just. 17. 3. 12). There was also a common Molossian citizenship in the *Koinon* of the Molossians and an assembly (*ecclesia*) (Hammond 1967: 525–9, 538; 1994: 431; Larsen 1968: 277). In the latter, the king and the people annually exchanged oaths both swearing to uphold the laws (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5. 4). There is no such direct evidence for similar limitations on the monarchy in Macedonia. Indeed, the only evidence for an oath in Macedonia relates to one sworn by the Macedonians to their king (Curt. 7. 1. 29); a reciprocal oath is not noted.

While both states had a tribal migratory history, what accounts for the differences in their constitutional development can only be guessed. Part of the reason for the distinction is that Epirus had a different evolution than did Macedonia. As Hammond himself points out, Epirus remained a pastoral state far longer than did Macedonia, and in Epirus the author claims that herds and pasture lands were held communally (Hammond 1991: 184–5, 188). Another factor may have been the decades of Persian influence in the more eastern territory. The Persians had a presence in this area beginning in 513 (Hdts. 4. 143–4) and reportedly by 511 had subjugated many peoples in the area "including the Macedonians" (Hdts. 6. 44. 1). Alexander I's sister was married to the Persian general Bubares, the son of Megabazus (Hdts. 7. 22. 1), and Alexander himself was placed in command of the lands of Lower Macedonia by the Persian king (Just. 7. 4. 1). The Persian presence and apparent alliance with the Argead royal family likely enhanced the powers of the Macedonian kings, but whether this merely augmented an already existing relationship between the king and his kingdom, or was more crucially involved in this process, cannot be determined from the existing evidence. Even in Epirus, however, the evidence is that the monarch may have shared power in some fashion with

powerful tribal leaders, not with common Molossians (Cross 1932: 17–18). J. A. O. Larsen (1968: 279) long ago recognized that it is unclear who actually participated in the Epirote assembly, but suggested that it was likely only “the more influential members of the tribes.” Epirus was then a tribal confederacy whose king may have shared power with a tribal council and with a number of lesser constitutional officials (Hammond 1967: 527, 538–9). No such evidence exists for similar tribal bodies in Macedonia.

With regard to the first claimed sovereign right of the proposed Macedonian assembly, the control over the selection of a new king, there is simply no evidence that clearly suggests that apart from the power of a living monarch or powerful members of the *hetairoi* to influence the selection, this authority rested with an assembly of the army or of the people. Hatzopoulos (1996A: 278–9) believes that the “Macedonian Assembly” in matters of succession both for the kingship and for a regency had powers ranging from actual selection to simple acclamation. He states that the latter would be the result of a clear successor and where the “traditional rules of succession” were followed. Landucci Gattinoni (2003: 32–3) suggests that, if there was no clear heir, or where there were conflicting claims, or when the clear heir was incapable of ruling, then, the assembly would be called upon to decide. However, for neither Philip II nor Alexander III, the two monarchs for whose careers a relative abundance of information exists, is there more than the acknowledgment of the accession, and for earlier Argeads, virtually nothing. In the case of Philip II, Diodorus 16. 2. 4–5 relates that “when (Perdiccas) . . . fell in the action, Philip . . . succeeded to the kingdom.” Moreover, the throne was contested by the sons of Archelaus, Pausanias and Argaeus (Diod. 16. 2. 6), and by Philip’s three half-brothers (Just. 7. 4. 5, 8. 3. 10; *FGrH* 115 F-27). There is in all of this no clear statement of the procedure by which Philip became king, and the resulting struggle for power involving so many claimants would suggest that there was no clear constitutional process either. However, it is claimed, based on another passage in Diodorus, that the people did formally select Philip as their king (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 160–1). Diodorus 16. 3. 1 states: “Philip bringing together the Macedonians in a series of assemblies [*ecclesiai*] and exhorting them with eloquent speeches . . . built up their morale,” and Justin 7. 5. 9, “compelled by the people he accepted the rule.” While *ecclesia* most often is used in the sense of a

formal sovereign assembly, it is also used by Diodorus (11. 26. 5–6, 35. 2; 13. 87. 4; 16. 79. 2) to refer to a called meeting by a military commander to exhort his troops. Moreover, the passage says nothing about an election. Justin's comment involves his unlikely claim (see above) that Philip was first regent for his nephew and later became king in his own right. Even if the claim were true, there is no clear reference to an electoral assembly. That, in the dire circumstances following the death of Perdiccas, popular pressure built demanding that Philip become king is a more valid explanation of the passage. What evidence that does survive suggests that on the death of a monarch there was little in the way of Macedonian custom that produced an orderly transition of power. Other than that the new king would come from the Argead clan, there were no other requirements. Certainly, the principal *hetairoi*, or a significant faction of them, would influence the selection. Moreover, if there was a prominent male member of the family available, and especially present, that individual most often succeeded to the throne. While the evidence comes from the later and generally considered to be more authoritarian Antigonid dynasty, the influence of a reigning monarch on the succession can be seen in the various machinations of Philip V regarding his successor and his actions are likely applicable to the Argeads as well (Livy 40. 21. 10, 41. 23. 11). The nobility, seeing Philip's preference for his eldest son, abandoned any support for his younger son, Demetrius. After the murder of Demetrius, Philip became disenchanted with his eldest son and attempted to secure the throne for his nephew Antigonus by commending him to the Macedonian "*principes*" (leaders) (Livy 40. 56. 7). Livy, likely reflecting Polybius, states that had Philip lived longer he might have realized his project. However, not only did Philip die before he had secured sufficient support for Antigonus, but Antigonus, also, was not present when Philip died. Perseus arrived on the scene first and secured the throne (Livy 40. 54. 3–4, 40. 56. 11, 40. 57. 1). Support generated during the rule of a father and presence at court at the time of a predecessor's death has more to do with the succession of adult sons, than with any constitutional basis for the practice. Any and all candidates would then attempt to secure the acquiescence of the general populace. This process might involve some public acclamation before a prominent military unit or some important Macedonian population such as the inhabitants of Aegae or Pella, the former and the current capitals respectively. This would likely

be followed by a formal enthronement, if or when the particular candidate was in control of the capital in Pella (Anson 1985B: 307–8; Errington 1978: 99–100). This acclamation was a mere formality (Anson 1985B: 307–8; 1991: 236–7). The acquiescence, if not full support, of the leading aristocrats, the army, and the general population, in that order, would determine who would be king. While foreign forces often did attempt and on occasion briefly did impose their candidates, these usurpers would ultimately be replaced by the candidate accepted by the above groups.

The only detailed description of a royal selection comes from Quintus Curtius Rufus' account of the elevation of Alexander the Great's half-brother Arrhidaeus to the throne as Philip III on the death of the Conqueror. Despite the chaos surrounding the events in Babylon where Alexander died, the selection of a monarch is outlined clearly only here. This was certainly not a typical succession. First, there were very few Argead candidates available, and of these none currently capable of ruling on his own. Philip and Alexander had effectively culled the ranks of the formerly populous clan. At the death of the Conqueror, there were but three possible claimants: Alexander's half-brother, Arrhidaeus, who was mentally deficient¹⁴; a three- or four-year-old son, Heracles, the result of an informal liaison with Barsine, the former wife of Memnon of Rhodes, and the daughter of Artabazus, advisor to Darius and Alexander's one time satrap of Bactria¹⁵; and the king's as yet unborn child by his Sogdian wife Roxane. She was pregnant, perhaps, and in fact as it turned out, with Alexander's only legitimate son (Curt. 10. 6. 9; Just. 13. 2. 5; Arr. *Succ.* 1a. 8). Secondly, this selection of a new king occurred well away from the confines and traditions of Macedonia and after ten years of campaigning in foreign lands. Also, unusual, there was present a near full complement of the chief *betairoi*, not a small faction or a well-placed few, and with no Argead personally able to lobby for the throne, these would formally meet to decide who would become the new monarch.¹⁶ Finally, the monarchy had in many ways been transformed through the activities of Philip and especially Alexander. There was now a bureaucracy and a great deal more formality at court.

Since none of the surviving Argeads was capable of actually ruling, there would need to be a regency: as indicated previously a rare occurrence in Argead Macedonian history. To complicate the

situation after Alexander's death, the chief military commanders were not in agreement on the nature of the regency. Apparently, the major commanders had decided to wait on the birth of Roxane's child (Curt. 10. 6. 9, 7. 8–9). Little thought was apparently given to the possibility that the child might not be male, perhaps, because the infant would be male either naturally or otherwise (Curt. 10. 6. 21). The major dispute among these prominent military commanders was whether there should be a king at all, but rather a council of these prominent individuals (Curt. 10. 6. 13–15). Hard negotiation among those who had been closest to Alexander would likely have led to a solution, but closeted deliberations were not to be. After Alexander's death, even though those deliberating the succession and potential regency were to be only the "chief companions of the king (*principes amicorum*) and the major troop commanders (*ducesque copiarum*)" (Curt. 10. 6. 1), "only those summoned specifically by name" (Curt. 10. 6. 2), the soldiers who had assembled outside the closed-door meeting, curious to know to whom the kingship would pass, burst into the meeting and showed a disinclination to leave (Curt. 10. 6. 1–3). The army in Babylon was not the old Macedonian levy tied solely to the traditions of Macedonia; it was the army that had conquered the Persian Empire, a force now in many ways more professional than national (Anson 1991: 230–47; 1980: 56–7). Many of these same troops on the Hyphasis had through their reluctance to proceed stymied Alexander's desire to conquer India (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 25. 1–29. 1; Diod. 17. 93. 2–95. 2; Curt. 9. 2. 1–3. 19; Plut. *Alex.* 62), and had even jeered their king and commander at Opis.¹⁷ They would not be intimidated by his lieutenants. The deliberations that were to be accomplished through the negotiations of the *principes* in relative secret would now take place before an attentive and vocal audience. The closed meeting of the *principes* had become an assembly, not because these troops were asserting a constitutional right, but rather as the result of happenstance. It is under these circumstances that Arrhidaeus was acclaimed king (Curt. 10. 7. 2–14; Arr. *Succ.* 1a. 8). Later, after the birth of Alexander's son, the infant was presented to the army and proclaimed King Alexander IV, to rule jointly with his uncle (Arr. *Succ.* 1a. 8).¹⁸ This only surviving narrative account presents a royal selection process that is unique in virtually every respect. It does not take place in Macedonia; there is a dearth of possible

claimants; and results from the collapse of whatever was to be the selection process.

The second most frequently claimed power for an alleged Macedonian assembly is the right to hear and act upon capital cases, and most specifically those involving treason.¹⁹ Some have seen as evidence for this authority a passage in Curtius. Curtius 6. 8. 25 states: *de capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus—in pace erat vulgi—et nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas* (“With regard to capital cases, according to ancient Macedonian custom, the army inquired—in time of peace the people—and the power of the king was nothing, unless his authority was strong before.”). While E. Kapetanopoulos (1999: 117–28) argues that much of the Curtian account of this episode has been invented as well as amplified by that author, Elizabeth Baynham (1998: 45–50) correctly asserts that Curtius likely elaborated on the material found in his sources, but did not invent the content. The clearest interpretation of the above Curtian passage is provided by Malcolm Errington (1978: 87–90) that the king’s authority might need to be tested before he could exercise his power; he needed to test his “*auctoritas*” before exercising his “*potestas*.” In this society where rival claimants, disgruntled subordinates, and the Macedonian characteristic “freedom of speech,” could result not just in criticism of a monarch’s actions, but even hostile action against the monarch and the emergence of rival candidates for the throne (Adams 1983: 43–52), a king might not always be able to carry out what he had the authority to do without endangering his relationship with his commanders, his army, or his people. The critical conclusion to be drawn is that such testing was only necessary where a monarch’s relationship with any of the above three was not on very firm footing. Given that Macedonian kings could and on occasion did transport entire populations (Ellis 1969B: 9–12) without seeing any need to discuss or “test” whether or not they had the authority to do so, suggests that under normal circumstances, kings had little recourse to testing their *auctoritas*. Even though Justin (8. 5. 8–13) records the general dissatisfaction of those forced to move from their homes and the “tombs of their ancestors,” he also notes that no protest, formal or otherwise, was forthcoming from the people. In fact, Justin emphasizes that the desolation of the population was expressed by “silent dejection” only, for fear that any outward sign of annoyance might show displeasure and risk reprisal.

The very nature of the royal relationship with the Macedonians meant a king's authority depended on the individual monarch's success and personal charisma. Curtius' comment is likely a true assessment of certain situations in the past and also with relation to his history of Alexander. After his victory at Gaugamela, Alexander was moving from a war of retribution to a war of conquest in which he wished to associate the Iranians. His attempt to transform the previously proclaimed enemies of all Greeks of the earlier campaign into comrades-in-arms did not enjoy great success among his Macedonians (see Chapter 5). It needs also to be pointed out that Alexander and his army had been campaigning for years away from home. The military camp had become a sizable community on the move, with wives, mistresses, children, slaves, merchants, and so on, in addition to the tens of thousands of soldiers. Military units and even the army as a whole were acquiring corporate identities. As part of the new war in which conquest was the objective, the soldiers' role had become increasingly that of mercenaries, and as such these Macedonians were acquiring many of the attributes commonly associated with such hired forces. As seen in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (e.g. 1.4. 12–13, 7. 2), the use of assemblies to bolster morale was very common where the commander was leading a force made up primarily of mercenaries, and this is also the case even where the soldiers are not technically hired forces, but rather citizen soldiers long in service. Caesar, for example, used assemblies often to improve his troops' morale and to explain his actions (Caes. *BG* 7. 52; *BC* 3. 6, 3. 73), and no one would suggest that these assemblies had constitutional prerogatives. In fact, in the sources all of these gatherings of the Roman commander's troops are called *contiones*, or nondecision-taking assemblies. All of Alexander's troop assemblies are also called *contiones* by Curtius.²⁰ Moreover, Curtius was making it clear that these were not constitutional assemblies, for he earlier referred to the Athenian Assembly as a *Concilia Plebis*, one form of a Roman formal assembly of the people (10. 2. 3; Anson 1985B: 309–10). The natural camaraderie of Caesar's army with its charismatic commander was strengthened by such meetings, and this was often the case with Alexander as well, but not always. Alexander's attempts to reach accommodation with Persians and other Asiatics along with his flirtation with divinity (see Chapter 5) angered troops who by tradition were free men, not the subjects of a "great king" or of a godlike ruler on earth.

Regarding the second most common claim for a Macedonian assembly, judicial authority, prior to the reign of Alexander the Great there is virtually no evidence for judicial assemblies of any kind, and little after as well. Our evidence comes almost exclusively from the reign of that monarch. Even though many scholars assert that they were a traditional part of Macedonian *nomos*, only two judicial assemblies for which there is even a modicum of evidence are claimed to have taken place in Macedonia itself, and neither of these takes place prior to the death of Philip II in 336. These are a very dubious trial of someone connected with Philip II's assassination, and the trial of Alexander's mother Olympias in 315 BC.²¹ With respect to the first, our narrative sources do not mention any trials. Diodorus (17. 94. 4) states that Philip's assassin, Pausanias, was cut down as he attempted to flee, and Justin (9. 7. 10), that the murderer was captured and crucified. Neither mentions a trial. Others, perhaps, associated with the assassination are executed also with no mention of a trial, including Alexander's cousin Amyntas Perdicca (Curt. 6. 9. 17, 10. 24; Just. 12. 6. 4) and the two Lyncestian brothers (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 25.1–2; Just. 11. 2. 1–2; Curt. 7. 1. 6). Only a papyrus fragment (*P Oxy.* 1798) has suggested to some that Pausanias or someone else in some way connected to the assassination was tried by an assembly of Macedonians and then executed (Hammond 1978: 343–9; Hatzopoulos 1996A: 272–3). The authorship, the restoration, and the interpretation of this fragment, however, are all debated (Anson 2008A: 137; Parsons 1979: 97–9; Kapetanopoulos 1996: 84), and Ernst Badian has described the fragment as derived from “an unimportant Alexander history related to the Romance” (Badian 1979: 97).

The evidence for a trial for Alexander's mother Olympias is, however, substantial, but offers problems of its own. In the first place, this trial takes place during the period of conflict and chaos commonly called the “Wars of the Successors.” Additionally, at this point only the six-year-old Alexander IV survived of the dual monarchs and his legal regent was in dispute. While Polyperchon, the then-regent, was out of the country (Diod. 19. 11. 2; Just. 14. 5. 1),²² Eurydice, the wife of King Philip III, had “usurped” the role of regent for her husband (Diod. 19. 11. 1; Just. 14. 5. 2–3), and had put Cassander, the son of Alexander the Great's regent for Macedonia, in charge of the army and the “administration” of the kingdom (Just. 14. 5. 3). Prior to this appointment Cassander

was officially at war with Kings Philip III and Alexander IV (Diod. 18. 74. 3). Before the new general could come to Macedonia from the Peloponnesus where he was campaigning, Polyperchon, who had been out of the country, returned (Diod. 19. 11. 1; Just. 14. 5. 9). Eurydice and Philip raised an army to resist, but the army deserted and the royal couple was captured (Diod. 19. 11. 2–3). Polyperchon had earlier invited Olympias to return to Macedonia as guardian for the young Alexander and to share the regency (Diod. 18. 49. 4, 57. 2, 65. 1; Anson 1992: 39–43). In Macedonia, Olympias now took charge of the kingdom. She appointed generals (Diod. 19. 35. 4), commanded troops (Diod. 19. 35. 4–5, 50. 1), dispatched orders to garrison commanders (Diod. 18. 65. 1; 19. 50. 8), and administered justice (Diod. 19. 11. 8–9). As one of her first acts, she immediately took control of the captured Eurydice and Philip III, and after maltreating them for “many days,” saw to their deaths (Diod. 19. 11. 5–7; Just. 14. 5. 9–10). In the following year, Cassander himself invaded Macedonia and by the summer had gained control of Macedonia and was besieging Olympias in Pydna (Diod. 19. 35, 36. 5; Just. 14. 4). After the conclusion of the siege of Pydna and the capture of Alexander’s mother, Cassander had charged her *in absentia* with crimes before a “common assembly of the Macedonians” (Diod. 19. 51. 1–2; Just. 14. 5–6).²³ The assembly then either voted to convict Olympias, or, while leaning toward a guilty verdict, was adjourned. Pierre Briant (1973: 297–9) accepts that Alexander’s mother was condemned by the Macedonians, and Hatzopoulos (1996A: 275) asserts that the trial took place before “the whole ‘normal’ Macedonian Assembly.” Since it is clear that only those Macedonians present with Cassander were involved (Carney 1994: 373), Hatzopoulos (1996A: 301) does state that Macedonian judicial assemblies could be held before “whichever troops happened to be in his camp at that time.” It is also clear that Cassander was at pains to fill the jury with those he believed he could count on to condemn her. Prior to calling the assembly together, Cassander had urged the relatives of those whom Olympias had previously slain to accuse her before this body (Diod. 19. 51. 2; Just. 14. 6. 6). Then, without ever hearing from Olympias, the assembly either convicted her or adjourned the session prior to verdict. Whether the meeting had concluded or been adjourned, it was Cassander who saw to her execution (Diod. 19. 51. 5; Just. 14. 6. 9). This trial hardly qualifies as evidence for any legal or

constitutional procedure. This is clearly a case where the *auctoritas* of the prosecutor is suspect and he is attempting to give some cover for what is in effect a murder. Whatever might be claimed, Cassander's position was acquired on the battlefield. Executing the mother of Alexander the Great on his own authority could be very dangerous. Earlier, without any compulsion Cassander had seen to the murder of Aristonous, Olympias' commander in Amphipolis (Diod. 19. 51. 1; see also 19. 50. 7). There was no trial. Moreover, Cassander's respect for Macedonian tradition is highly suspect. Immediately after the death of Olympias he had Alexander IV and his mother Roxane placed under guard in Amphipolis (Diod. 19. 52. 4; Just. 14. 6. 13), ordering that the king be treated as a commoner. In 310, Cassander saw to the murders of both mother and king (Diod. 19. 105. 2–3).

During the much later Antigonid dynasty, Philip V convened a select group of Macedonians in Demetrias in Thessaly to hear charges against Ptolemaeus in 218 (Polyb. 5. 29. 6). While Polybius states that he was tried before the "Macedonians," the army had previously been sent back to Macedonia to spend the winter (Polyb. 5. 29. 5), making it likely that these Macedonians were either the king's councillors (Anson 1985B: 313 and n. 54), or, perhaps, Philip's royal guard and any other Macedonians who happened to be present (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 302–3). In either case, a trial before his council or before a part of the army, Philip had picked his jury. The king's power to control the prosecution and the selection of the jury here, as in the case of Cassander and Olympias, makes the concept of a "Macedonian" assembly rather specious.

The first clear evidence for judicial assemblies appears only in the latter part of the reign of Alexander the Great. While an argument from silence is never secure, these assemblies do appear in our sources to be connected with Alexander's arrival in the Persian heartland and coincide with his attempts to change the nature of the campaign from one of revenge to one of conquest, in which the conquered would be incorporated into the new polity, the Kingdom of Asia (see Chapter 5). Alexander's relationship with his commanders and his soldiers would be increasingly strained by Alexander's actions in this regard. Under these new circumstances, Alexander came to use assemblies of soldiers in a number of capacities, including as judicial tribunals. If these "trials," as claimed, do represent regular practice and were part of Macedonian judicial custom, then there

must be some regularity to the procedure, a sense of obligation to summon such a body in particular circumstances, the feeling of entitlement on the part of the Macedonians to hear these cases, and the defendant's right to be so tried. As in the previous examination of those trials that took place in Macedonia, none of these can be demonstrated.

The surviving evidence shows that during Alexander's reign with one notable exception judicial assemblies were summoned at the discretion of the king. In the trials of Philotas,²⁴ Alexander of Lyncestis (Curt. 7. 1. 8; Diod. 17. 80. 2), the sons of Andromenes,²⁵ and the Pages (Curt. 8. 6. 28; Arr. *Anab.* 4. 14. 2), it is Alexander who summons the "Macedonians" to hear the particular case. The only exception is the most peculiar trial of the dead Cleitus. In 328, Cleitus was murdered by Alexander during a drunken argument between the two men (see Chapter 5). Afterward, as Alexander laid in his tent refusing food, in some fashion the "Macedonians decreed" that Cleitus had been justly put to death (Curt. 8. 2. 12). R. Bauman (1990: 139) calls this trial "a landmark in the evolution of the new kind of impiety," namely, insulting the king. Our source does not make such a claim, stating only that the Macedonians wished to lessen the king's shame. The punishment for the dead man's crime was to be the denial of a proper burial, but Alexander having recovered from his grief ordered the ceremony to go forward (Curt. 8. 2. 12). No other source mentions this action by the Macedonians. That such a meeting took place spontaneously has been doubted (Badian 2000: 69). But aside from this "trial," during the reign of Alexander "judicial assemblies" were called exclusively by the king.

The principal evidence for the claim that assemblies of Macedonians had judicial competence comes from Curtius' account of the trial of Alexander's childhood companion and then commander of the elite Macedonian cavalry, Philotas (Curt. 6. 8. 23–11. 40). Neither Arrian (*Anab.* 3. 26. 2–4), nor Diodorus (17. 79. 6–80. 2), gives more than a brief outline of the events. The beginning of this affair was a conspiracy involving a number of rather nondescript Macedonians. Only a certain Demetrius, who was a *somatophylax*, one of the seven elite bodyguards of the king, held a significant position (Curt. 6. 7. 15; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 27. 5). Nor is the cause of the plot clear. Diodorus (17. 79. 1) reports that one of the conspirators "found fault with the king for some reason,

and in a rash fit of anger formed a plot against him,” but Justin (12. 5. 2–3) does mention that at this time Alexander was being criticized for turning from the traditions of his homeland, which likely is referencing his rapprochement to the Persians. The plot was revealed to Philotas who kept the information to himself. When the conspiracy was finally revealed, Alexander’s “council” was summoned and this body unanimously concluded that Philotas was guilty of treason (Curt. 6. 8. 10–15). Philotas was seized and brought before the entire army (“omnes armati”) and so charged (Curt. 6. 8. 20–23; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 26. 2). The soldiers, when the charges were first announced, were moved by the alteration in Philotas’ fortunes from cavalry commander to “*damnatum*” (Curt. 6. 9. 26). The evidence makes it clear that charging Philotas was entirely up to the king, who at any time could have pardoned him (see Curt. 6. 10. 11). In that initial meeting of the council, Craterus advised Alexander not to pardon him (Curt. 6. 8. 5). The Macedonian monarch clearly had full authority over those accused of serious crimes. Alexander did not charge Alexander of Lyncestis with complicity in the murder of the former’s father Philip II, “even though his guilt was clear,” because the latter was the first to salute him as king and through the intercession of the Lyncestian’s father-in-law, Antipater (Curt. 7. 1. 6), Alexander’s future regent for Macedonia. Later, the Lyncestian was implicated in a Persian plot to kill Alexander, and while he was placed under arrest, he was not brought to trial for three years.²⁶ Justin (11. 7. 2) adds that the king feared possible rebellion in Macedonia, if he killed him. Only a personal justification, however, can explain the lack of punishment for the royal treasurer. Harpalus had been one of Alexander’s long-standing companions (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 5; Plut. *Alex.* 10. 4). Shortly before the Battle of Issus, Harpalus had fled to Greece with part of the treasury, but Alexander encouraged his return and when he did come back, his flight was forgiven and he was reinstated as the “custodian of the funds with Alexander” (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 4).

With respect to a right to trial by assembly, Curtius (7. 2. 9) does assert that an accused person had the right either to defend himself or herself, or to be defended by someone else speaking on the accused’s behalf. When Coenus, one of Alexander’s commanders and Philotas’ brother-in-law, after the accusations had been made, picked up a stone and was at the point of throwing it at the accused, Alexander intervened, stating that

the accused should be given a chance to plead his case (*prius causae debere fieri potestatem reo nec aliter judicari passurum se affirmans*) (Curt. 6. 9. 31). Curtius (6. 10. 30) further claims that it was customary for parents of the accused to plead for the defendant as well. While Philotas and his indicted co-conspirators were given the opportunity to defend themselves before the Macedonians (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 26. 2; Curt. 6. 9. 32–11. 38), others were not. Parmenion, the father of the convicted Philotas, was not given any opportunity to defend himself (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 26. 3–4), but was murdered on Alexander's orders.²⁷ During the first year of Alexander's reign, the Macedonian nobleman Attalus was murdered without the benefit of trial (Diod. 17. 2. 5–6; Curt. 7. 1. 3), as were Amyntas Perdicca (Curt. 6. 9. 17, 10. 24; Just. 12. 6. 4)²⁸ and the brothers of the Lyncestian Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 25. 1–2; Just. 11. 2. 1–2; Curt. 7. 1. 6). All of these were accused by Alexander of plotting his death (Curt. 6. 9. 17; 8. 8. 7). Later in the winter of 325/4, Cleander, Heracon, and Agathon, all Macedonian commanders, in addition to 600 regular soldiers, were condemned on Alexander's authority alone (Curt. 10. 1. 1–9; Arr. *Anab.* 6. 27. 4), as was one of his *hetairoi* Menander (Plut. *Alex.* 57. 3). The king acquitted Heracon of the first set of charges against him, but with the appearance of subsequent claims of misconduct, he was executed (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 27. 5).

On Alexander's arrival at Opis in 324, he called together his Macedonians and announced that he was now discharging and returning to Macedonia all those unfit for service because of age or wounds. Even though Alexander meant to please his troops, they felt that he now despised them. Long-standing grievances now came to the surface. They complained about his adoption of Persian dress, his outfitting Asiatic units in Macedonian armament, the introduction of foreigners into the elite Companion Cavalry. But, besides complaints, they hurled insults at their commander. Alexander now ordered the arrest of the most conspicuous troublemakers, 13 in all, who were marched off to immediate execution.²⁹ There was no trial, no appeal. Moreover, Alexander's authority to condemn Philotas was never questioned. However, Curtius (6. 11. 39) comments that unless Parmenion and Philotas had been shown to be guilty, they could not have been condemned "without the indignation of the whole army." There is no question here of Alexander's right to punish them, only the possible danger of angering his army by

this action. Later many did change their minds and came to regret Philotas' condemnation (Curt. 7. 1. 1–4). By bringing these charges before an assembly, a sense of transparency could be obtained and the responsibility for the decision would be shared.

Philotas, according to Curtius (6. 9. 17), had been implicated in a plot to kill Alexander soon after the death of Philip, but was not charged and remained ostensibly Alexander's friend and *hetairois* (cf. Curt. 7. 1. 27–8). If true, as with the case of Harpalus, this is another example of the king's control over prosecution. It was shortly after Philotas' execution and in connection with the charges brought against the sons of Andromenes that the Lyncestian Alexander was executed (Curt. 7. 1. 1–10; Diod. 17. 80. 2). By prearrangement when the troops assembled, Atarrhias called for the Lyncestian to be brought before them (Curt. 7. 1. 5). When he was unable to defend himself, he was killed by those soldiers who were closest to him (Curt. 7. 1. 9). Curtius is very clear that no decision to execute was taken by the *contio* as a whole; Alexander of Lyncestis was murdered either by soldiers acting on their own initiative or more likely in response to orders or indications from Alexander.

Moreover, in the "*contio*" called to hear the charges against the sons of Andromenes (Curt. 7. 2. 6), the "army" by its tears and shouts demonstrated their desire for an acquittal and appealed directly to Alexander to spare the young men (*ut insontibus et fortibus viris [Alexander] parceret*, Curt. 7. 2. 7), which Alexander by his "*sententia*" (judgment) did (*ipse Amyntan mea sententia fratresque eius absolvo*, Curt. 7. 2. 8). Hammond (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 158 n. 2) argues that the Curtian passage implies that the soldiers acquitted, and that Alexander only pronounced his view "to show that he was in agreement." Curtius' language is clear, however, that the troops awaited Alexander's verdict. Arrian (*Anab.* 3.27. 2) simply reports that the brothers were tried before the Macedonians and acquitted. It appears, therefore, from the evidence that the king exercised final authority over life and death regardless of whether there was a trial or not.

In the Conspiracy of the Pages in 327, while Arrian (*Anab.* 4. 14. 2) states that Hermolaus, one of the conspirators, was brought before the "Macedonians," without any more specific reference, the more complete narrative in Curtius (8. 6. 28–8. 20) reports that Alexander summoned his regular advisers (*frequens consilium*) "and the fathers and other relatives of the accused" to hear the

charges, not the entire army (Curt. 8. 6. 28, 8. 8. 20; Arr. *Anab.* 4. 14. 2–3; Plut. *Alex.* 55. 2). All the accused confessed and the assembled rebuked them. After Hermolaus admitted his role in the plot, Alexander dismissed the *consilium* and turned the accused over to “soldiers in [Hermolaus’] unit” for execution (Curt. 8. 8. 20). According to Arrian (*Anab.* 4. 14. 3), Hermolaus and the other conspirators were stoned “by those who were present.”

In the final analysis, there is no basis for the supposition that the Macedonians meeting in assembly had the customary and recognized right to hear judicial cases. These recorded “trials” demonstrate no procedure, are summoned at the whim of the king, demonstrate no apparent right to be tried by anyone other than the king or his representative(s), and no demands on the part of any group to hear such cases. Alexander in central Asia was in a precarious position. His attempt to unite the Macedonians and Persians into a new imperial people required at the least the acquiescence of the Macedonians, who were reluctant to give it. At this juncture the king was solicitous of their feelings. Given the personal quality of the kingship, Macedonians likely, as suggested by Curtius, did believe that they had a right to plead their case before their king and even for their relatives to participate. Such participation was at the discretion of the king, however. Again, given the lack of social distance between a king and his subjects, much depended on the personality and ability of the monarch to rule. In central Asia, Alexander’s agenda required that he tread carefully with respect to his Macedonians. Alexander had further conquests in view; all of India lay before him. After the army by its reluctance to proceed ended Alexander’s Indian ambitions, there were no more judicial assemblies. As Ernst Badian (1961: 16–43) has noted, opposition was now met by brutal royal autocracy.

In addition to there being no real evidence for a Macedonian assembly, the very nature of Macedonian society prior to the reign of Philip II would have made such a body little more than an assembly of the king’s *hetairoi*. There was no army assembly, because aside from the aristocratic cavalry there was little in the way of an army. Moreover, most Macedonians were tenant farmers and dependent pastoralists (Anson 2008B: 17–30). A “people’s assembly” is, consequently, even more unlikely. While Granier claimed that this assembly was similar to that of the migrating Germanic tribes of the late Roman period, the operative word is that these were

“migrating” peoples, not settled dependent populations over widespread territories. The assemblies that begin to appear after 330 in Alexander’s army do bear a resemblance to these Germanic tribal assemblies for the simple reason that here again you have an army on the move for a long period of time with a developing identity.

The nature of Macedonia prior to the reign of her two greatest kings was that of a backward state with great resources awaiting someone who could overcome the internal divisions, seize the independent coastal cities that dominated much of the country’s trade, and achieve defensible borders. Given that the kings had great theoretical powers, it would take a king who could make the theoretical into reality. With the accession of Philip II to the throne, Macedonia had such a monarch. He would unite Macedonia and turn it into the greatest power in the Western world.

2

A father's legacy: Philip II and the rise of the Macedonian nation

Philip II came to the throne of Macedonia under less than auspicious circumstances. In 359 BC, his brother Perdiccas III, the former king, and 4,000 Macedonians lay dead on the battlefield; their conquerors, the tribal neighbors to the northwest, the Illyrians, who under their commander Bardylis, remained encamped in Upper Macedonia (Diod. 16. 2. 4–6). Philip was 24 years of age but destined in the words of a later commentator to become “the greatest of the kings of Europe” (Diod. 16. 95. 1). In spite of his importance, there is a shortage of detailed information about the events of his reign, with most of our information coming from the sixteenth book of Diodorus of Sicily’s universal history, which dates from the last century of the Roman Republic. Additional evidence comes from Justin’s, perhaps, late second-century AD, *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus’ universal history; the contemporary speeches of the Athenian orators Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Isocrates, and the fragments of now lost historians, especially those that survive from the contemporary *Philippica* of Theopompus of Chios.¹

Macedonia at the start of Philip’s reign was disunited, with much of the interior dominated by the powerful, land-holding, *hetairoi*, the coast by independent Greek cities, and, as noted, at that particular moment suffering Illyrian occupation. Moreover, as seen in the previous chapter, Macedonian history was one of frequent invasion by various tribal peoples, like the Illyrians, from the west, north, and

east, and interference by the forces of the southern Greek city-states. Philip would create out of this division and vulnerability a united nation of Macedonia that would come to dominate virtually the entire Greek peninsula and serve as the springboard for the exploits of his son Alexander the Great. Under Philip the Macedonian cavalry grew to more than five times its size under his predecessors, and the Macedonian heavy infantry appeared virtually out of nowhere. Ultimately, Philip created a military force of at least 3,300 cavalry and 30,000 infantry. At Chaeronea, Philip's army contained "not less than 2,000 cavalry" and 30,000 infantry (Diod. 16. 85. 5). Alexander took 1,800 Macedonian cavalry and 12,000 Macedonian infantry with him to Asia (Diod. 17. 17. 3-4), leaving behind in Macedonia 1,500 cavalry and 12,000 infantry with his regent Antipater (Diod. 17. 17. 5). There was also an advance force in Asia (Diod. 16. 91. 2; Just. 9. 5. 8; Polyae. 5. 44. 4), but its size and composition, while unknown, likely included a great many mercenaries. This turnabout in Macedonia's fortunes was due to a very great extent to Philip's combination of military, political, and diplomatic skills. Early in 358, Philip defeated the Illyrian invaders who had killed his brother and occupied Upper Macedonia, and many of the Illyrians' erstwhile aristocratic Macedonian allies. He abolished the small kingdoms of Upper Macedonia and pacified a number of the members of their royal houses by granting them large tracts of land in Lower Macedonia (Hammond 1989: 141). He also advanced the border of Macedonia to Lake Lychnitis (Diod. 16. 8. 1).

This victory coming so soon after the previous year's disaster would appear to be a miracle, or at least remarkable. The Macedonians throughout their previous history had been frequently the victims of Illyrian aggression. In addition to the disastrous defeat suffered by Philip's brother in 359, their father Amyntas III had been expelled from his kingdom twice by the Illyrians.² The first expulsion occurred in 393/2 and Amyntas was only able to recover his kingdom with the help of the Thessalians (Diod. 14. 92. 3-4). In the second incident, occurring a decade later and lasting only three months, Amyntas was forced to pay tribute for the recovery of his kingdom.³

In 359, Diodorus (16. 3. 1-2) reports, "Philip was not panic-stricken by the magnitude of the expected perils, but, bringing together the Macedonians . . . and . . . having improved the organization of his forces and equipped the men suitably with

weapons of war . . . he devised the compact order and the equipment of the phalanx . . . and was the first to organize the Macedonian phalanx.” It is clear from subsequent history that Philip created the first true Macedonian heavy infantry, introducing an entirely new infantry panoply and tactics. While most historians claim that the creation was a drawn-out process (Ellis 1980: 53, 58; Griffith 1980: 59; Borza 1990: 202), whose completion may have occurred just prior to the battle of Chaeronea (Markle 1978: 483, 486–9), this dramatic change would appear both from Diodorus’ statement and from Philip’s dramatic victory over the previously victorious Illyrians to have been accomplished in Philip’s first year of his rule (Hammond 1994: 25–6; Anson 2010B: 51–68). Moreover, this was not the only successful campaign waged by Philip in the months following his predecessor’s defeat and death. In 359, a pretender to his throne arose in the person of one Argaeus.⁴ Nor was this Philip’s only rival for the throne. There was also the Thracian-backed Pausanias (Diod. 16. 2. 6). Here, Philip bribed his Thracian supporter (Diod. 16. 3. 4), and the lack of any further reference to this particular claimant suggests that he was likely assassinated.⁵ Argaeus was more dangerous. He had the support of the Athenians, who sent out Mantias, an Athenian general, with a force of 3,000 hoplites to aid the pretender. Subsequently, Argaeus with a force of “mercenaries” marched on Aegae, but was rebuffed by the inhabitants (Diod. 16. 2. 6, 3. 5–6). On his return to Methone, he and his troops were attacked and defeated by Philip in an ambush (Diod. 16. 3. 6; Dem. 23. 121; Just. 7. 6. 6). After this victory, Philip made a truce with the Athenians and proclaimed his intention to form an alliance with them (Dem 23. 121); he had already withdrawn the Macedonian garrison from Amphipolis prior to the arrival of Mantias (Diod. 16. 3. 3; see Polyaen. 4. 2. 17). While the Athenian expeditionary force numbered approximately 3,000, it is unknown how many troops accompanied Argaeus. Apparently, after Philip withdrew the garrison from Amphipolis the Athenians felt less urgency to deal with the new king. Diodorus notes that the Athenian commander did not accompany Argaeus, but sent him out with “the mercenaries.” Griffith’s claim (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 211), however, that this victory by Philip and his army was a “small affair,” underestimates it. In the first place, the actual size of the force that accompanied Argaeus, as mentioned,

is unknown, and, given the high proportion of mercenaries in both previous and subsequent Athenian expeditions, could conceivably have been virtually the entire 3,000. Justin (7. 6. 6) and Libanius (15. 45) state that Philip's first battle was with "the Athenians," and the latter further states that "Athenian prisoners" were taken (20. 23). Additionally, shortly after the disaster at the hands of the Illyrians, the Paeonians had invaded Macedonia (Diod. 16. 2. 6), but had been bought off by Philip (Diod. 16. 3. 4). Early in 358, the new Macedonian monarch, hearing of the death of the Paeonian king, Agis, invaded Paeonia, defeated the Paeonians in battle, making that state subject to his authority (Diod. 16. 4. 2; see Dem. 1. 23; Isoc. 5. 21).⁶ Clearly something dramatic had taken place in the Macedonian military.

Philip's many innovations were revolutionary. Prior to this monarch, most land battles involving Greek armies relied on the "hoplite," heavy infantry, phalanx. These infantrymen had dominated warfare for two centuries. By contrast, cavalry and light-armed troops played only a secondary role, used primarily to protect the flanks and rear of these heavy-infantry formations, and secondarily to pursue the defeated and fleeing enemy. Thucydides's (2. 100. 2) statement that King Archelaus increased the number of available hoplites beyond anything that existed previously in Macedonia, likely refers to his changing the armament of his guard, since it is clear that Macedonia had no heavy infantry to speak of until the reign of Philip, when this monarch created the famous Macedonian phalanx. Here the infantryman was initially equipped with a 14–15-foot pike (the *sarisa*), as opposed to the seven-eight foot hoplite spear, carried a two-foot in diameter shield hung from the neck and shoulder, while the hoplite carried a three-foot in diameter circular shield, and unlike the hoplite, little else in the way of defensive armor. Over time the pikes lengthened, so that in the later Hellenistic period they might be as long as 24 feet. These troops resembled the later Swiss pikemen of the early modern era, a similarity that Nicolai Machiavelli (1965: 47) recognized in his description of these later infantrymen. Additionally, Philip produced an army in which this phalanx was coordinated with the traditionally superb Macedonian cavalry, along with contingents of light-armed troops, and a professional core of infantry trained to fight with the long pikes or as traditional Greek hoplites. His tactics also were different from what had been standard in Greek warfare for over

300 years. No longer would the battle be determined solely by the clash of infantries, but more often by an attack of heavy cavalry. "Heavy cavalry" wore armor and carried lances, often shortened versions of the infantry *sarisa*, and secondarily swords; light cavalry were typically unarmored and equipped with bows and javelins. In what has been described as the "hammer and anvil" tactic, the new Macedonian infantry pinned down the corresponding enemy force, permitting the cavalry to probe for weaknesses, which they would then exploit to victory. The infantry became the anvil on which the hammer of the cavalry would smash the enemy. Additionally, over time, Philip added numerous other units to his force, including skirmishers, archers, and mercenaries to the traditionally strong Macedonian cavalry and his newly formed phalanx (Dem. 9. 49). With this new army, Philip gained hegemony over most of the Greek world and his son Alexander conquered the Persian Empire and become "the Great."

At least two of these military innovations were incorporated into the Macedonian army in the very first year of Philip's reign: the *sarisa*-phalanx (Anson 2010B: 51–68; contra: Markle 1978: 483–9) and a professional infantry core unit (Anson 1985A: 46–8). Philip had likely been influenced by the longer spears used occasionally in combat by the troops of Macedonia's tribal neighbors and very often in hunting. While the evidence regarding the employment of infantry in the north suggests that light-armed infantry dominated, artistic renderings, archaeological finds, and the occasional literary reference, show Thracian infantry on occasion with long-thrusting spears. This evidence has been collected by J. G. P. Best (1969). The evidence for the armament of another of Macedonia's tribal neighbors the Paeonians is even more sparse, but the indications are that they also relied on light-armed infantry. Under Alexander the Great, Paeonians served as light cavalry, skirmishers, and scouts (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 14. 1, 6; 2. 9. 2; 3. 13. 3). Even the Olynthians in 382 BC had only 800 hoplites but "many more peltasts" (Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 14). These occasional depictions of and references to long-thrusting spears with respect to some of Macedonia's neighbors might suggest that Macedonians likewise had some experience with such weapons. Philip saw the advantages of the long-thrusting spear when developing a powerful infantry force that was recruited by necessity from peasants. The *sarisa*, when used primarily for defense, required far

less training than did the hoplite panoply, and with the absence of so much defensive armor, the cheapness of the materials, and the lessened need for training made such an infantry ideal for the political and social circumstances that existed in Macedonia at the time of Philip's accession. Philip certainly possessed sufficient resources after 356. His mines gave him 1,000 talents of gold a year (Diod. 16. 8. 7; Dem. 18. 235), and he later would collect a tithe from the Thracians (Diod. 16. 71. 2) and import/export duties in Thessaly (Dem. 6. 22; 19. 89). But, in his first couple of years he was strapped for funds. Unlike the southern Greek city-states whose middle-class citizens could afford their own armor and its upkeep, most of the native Macedonians were tenant farmers and dependent pastoralists, who could not. This lack of resources also limited the number of mercenaries that Philip could employ, again, unlike later in his reign when he gave employment to substantial numbers of such troops (Dem. 3. 49; 9. 58; Diod. 16. 8. 7, 91. 1; Polyae. 4. 2. 8; 5. 44. 4). Yet, even later, his main field army was made up almost exclusively of Macedonians. At Chaeronea, for example, there is no hint of mercenaries (Diod. 16. 86).

The *sarisa* had another advantage over standard hoplite spears. Rather than standing "toe-to-toe" with your enemy, the compact *sarisa*-phalanx kept the enemy at some distance. For soldiers unfamiliar with the horrors of heavy infantry combat, where unlike in the case of light-armed troops, the option of throwing or shooting or slinging projectiles at the enemy and then retreating, was not available, or, in the case of the survivors of the Illyrian debacle under King Perdiccas, for whom the terrors of combat were all too familiar, this distance from the enemy would give at least a measure of confidence.

One difficulty with the assumption that Philip introduced the *sarisa* so early in his reign is the limited period between his brother's death to his great victory over Bardyllis. This would appear to give Philip too little time to affect such significant changes (Borza 1990: 202; Markle 1978: 486–7). However, in Speusippas' *Letter to Philip* (30. 12),⁷ it is claimed that Plato, probably through his associate Euphraeus, who was an intimate of Philip's brother Perdiccas, "laid the basis for Philip's rule during the reign of his brother." Carystius of Pergamum, a second-century BC writer, may clarify the above statement for he claims that Euphraeus convinced the monarch to give Philip a portion of his kingdom to govern (Athen.

11. 506E-F). This action likely occurred in 364 BC (Hammond 1994: 18 and 196 n. 2), the year after Perdiccas's accession to the throne. This was also likely the year in which Philip returned from Thebes (Just. 7. 5. 3), where he had been a hostage for Macedonia's behavior, and of Euphraeus's appearance at the Macedonian court (Natoli 2004: 32). If this is the case, that Philip had an independent command beginning in 364, then he may have been training troops and experimenting with different military equipment and tactics as long as four or five years before the disaster in 359.⁸ Indeed, Carystius reports that because of this apportionment of territory, Philip had his forces in a state of readiness when Perdiccas died (Athen. 11. 506F). Even though no source gives the location of the region put under Philip's control, there are indications that it was in the east. The Illyrians had been for some time a danger in the west, and it was in an attempt to repel their invasion in 359 that Perdiccas met his death. Therefore, it would make sense that, if the monarch was to be heavily involved in western Macedonia, Philip then should have been placed in the east to protect that Macedonian frontier, and there is some evidence to support this assumption. Diodorus (16. 2. 6) states in the context of the immediate aftermath of Perdiccas' defeat and death that the Athenians were on "bad terms" with Philip. Given a lack of any further explanation, it could be concluded that this would have involved Amphipolis. At the time of Philip's accession to the throne, there was a Macedonian garrison in place in Amphipolis (Diod. 16. 3. 3; Polyae. 4. 2. 17).⁹ Moreover, a pretender to the Macedonian throne, Pausanias, had unsuccessfully invaded Macedonia in 367 and was still alive and preparing with the support of Cotys, the king of the Odrysian Thracians, to invade once more when the latter died early in 359.¹⁰ Having Philip in the east, probably in Mygdonia, would be a counter to this possibility. Mygdonia along with Anthemus controlled the banks of the Axios in its lower course. Anthemus in particular was apparently regarded as the personal possession of the king. In 505,¹¹ Amyntas I had offered the entire region to the Athenian Hippias (Hdts. 5. 94. 1), and later Philip as king ceded the same region briefly to the Olynthians in 357 to win their favor (Dem. 6. 20).

Philip's other great innovation in these early days of his reign was the creation of an expanded infantry guard, trained both in the new weaponry of the *sarisa*, a 15 to 18 foot long pike (Markle

1977: 323), and the panoply of a traditional hoplite. Whatever its original size, Philip had expanded the corps, perhaps, to 1,000 men (Anson 1985A: 248), and while these troops could fight with the smaller round shield and the *sarisa*, they were also trained and armed as hoplites, and throughout the campaigns of Alexander they most often carried a modified hoplite panoply (Markle 1978: 491–2; Anson 2010B: 63 and n. 88). W. W. Tarn (1948: 148) long ago recognized that the expanded infantry guard derived from “a standing footguard, probably small, whose duty was to guard [the king’s] person, not only in battle but at all times . . .” Under Philip this expanded body of professional and national infantry was initially known as the *pezhetairoi*. The contemporary Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F-348) uses this term when describing Philip’s royal guard. “The picked men out of all the Macedonians, the tallest and strongest, served as the King’s Guards, and they were called the *pezhetairoi*.”¹² This new infantry core unit was then Philip’s “foot-companions,” and thus these soldiers shared in part the same personal relationship with the king as his *betairoi*, his cavalry companions. The infantry guard later became known as the hypaspists (“shield-bearers”) and grew in number to 3,000. The term hypaspist had a connotation of a personal attendant, as in the retinue or warband of a leader. Euripides in the “*Heracleidai*” calls Iolaus Heracles’ hypaspist (Heracl. 215–6). The king of Macedonia’s neighbors, the Agrianians, had a personal guard called the hypaspists (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 5. 2).

Philip’s success against Bardylis reflects these new innovations, which, perhaps, included changes with respect to the Macedonian cavalry. Philip is credited with both increasing the size of the Macedonian cavalry and arming his troopers with a cavalry *sarisa* (Markle 1977: 339). That the Illyrian commander was forced to move his infantry into a square formation demonstrates that the Macedonian cavalry had defeated and driven off their opposing numbers. Indeed, Diodorus (16. 4. 6) states that it was the success of the cavalry attacking the flanks and rear of the Illyrians that led to Philip’s ultimate victory. The square was a common formation to use when defending against cavalry (Xen. *Anab.* 3. 1. 36, 4. 19–20, 28, 43). While the triumph of the Macedonian cavalry might suggest that Philip had redesigned the cavalry to carry the shorter cavalry *sarisa*, there could, of course, be other causes as well, including numerical superiority. Diodorus (16. 4. 3–4) records

that the Illyrian cavalry numbered 500 and the Macedonian 600. The success of his foot soldiers in holding their own against the previously victorious Illyrians, however, is suggestive of a change in the Macedonian infantry. While Diodorus' (16. 4. 5–6) description of the battle leaves much to be desired, he does state that it was a hard-fought contest with heavy casualties on both sides. He also notes that Philip led “the pick of his foot soldiers” on his right wing. Later, at Chaeronea, Philip led “the pick of his infantry” likewise on the right wing (Diod. 16. 86. 1), and in Asia, Alexander would arrange his phalanx with his hypaspists on his right (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 14. 2; 2. 8. 3; 3. 11. 9; 4. 24. 1). While the direct association of the “pick of the infantry” with the hypaspists comes from the reign of Alexander, it should be noted that from the time of Philip's death to Alexander's arrival in Asia only approximately 18 months had passed. During this time Alexander was occupied securing the throne and his position in Greece. It is clear that the army, its commanders, and tactics were basically those of his father Philip (Heckel 1992: 3, *passim*). Additionally, with Alexander the hypaspists were regularly used in situations requiring speed and maneuverability. In Hyrcania, Alexander advanced with the hypaspists and the “lightest-armed and more nimble of the Macedonian phalanx” (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 23. 3; see also 1. 27. 8; 2. 4. 3). The hypaspists were more mobile than Alexander's “typical” Macedonian phalangites (Milns 1971: 187–8; Markle 1977: 323, 329; Heckel 2006: 63; Anson 2010A: 82–3), and regularly “equipped for hand-to-hand warfare” (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 20. 6). The *sarisa* was not an ideal weapon in a one-on-one conflict, but meant to be used in a unit. With respect to the former, the combat between Coragus and Dioxippus occurring during Alexander's Asian expedition clearly showed the insufficiency of the pike in a one-on-one struggle (Diod. 17. 100. 2–101. 2; Curt. 9. 7. 16–23). Here, an Athenian Olympian armed only with a club easily defeated a fully outfitted Macedonian phalangite. As Hammond (1980A: 53) states, “[the *sarisa*] was unsuitable for skirmishing, besieging, street-fighting, ambushing, [and] mountaineering.”

It has been claimed that the creation of the hypaspists and, indeed, many of Philip's innovations in Macedonia were copied from the Persians. Dietmar Kienast (1973) has presented the most expansive case for the copying of Persian institutions by Philip, while Robin Lane Fox, the contrary (2007: 269). The former

argues that everything from the Philip's polygamy (266–7) to the creation of particular military units was copied from the Persians by this monarch (255–8, 261–3), while the latter speaks of “broad parallelism,” but no direct borrowing. The connection between Macedonia and Persia had a long history, going back at least to a time when Macedonia was a dependency of the Persian Empire in the late sixth century (Borza 1980: 102–5; Olbrycht 2010: 342–5). While certain elements may, indeed, have been adopted and adapted from the Persians, it is clear that Philip was not attempting to create a Macedonian court modeled on that of Persia. There was no harem, no eunuchs, no severely limited access to the king, nor was prostration required of those ushered into the king's presence; all practices associated with the Persian royal court (Briant 2002: 255–86).

That Philip II was polygamous is without question. Initially, on becoming king, Philip likely reached an agreement with Bardylis and the Illyrians acceding to their occupation of much of Upper Macedonia and sealing the arrangement with his marriage to an Illyrian princess, Audata (Ellis 1976: 47–8).¹³ Marriage was a tool often used by Philip to punctuate foreign alliances. Philip would eventually have seven wives. As with his Illyrian marriage, most of these were to secure alliances. The most famous of which was his marriage to Olympias, a princess from the western kingdom of Epirus and the mother of the future heir Alexander. While polygyny was not unknown in the Greek world, formal polygamy was rare. Even in the Homeric world so often seen as similar to the structure of ancient Macedonia, the Greek heroes had many “prizes,” but one wife. It was the Trojan Priam who had three wives. The reported incidents of polygamy in the Greek world are few (Scheidel 2011: 108, 110). One such example comes from Sparta, but involves rather special circumstances. When King Anaxandridas refused to put away his barren wife in the interest of the state and marry again as the ephors directed, the ephors agreed to his keeping his first wife so long as he did marry a second (Hdts. 5. 39–41), but, as Herodotus (5. 40. 2) notes, “a thing which is not at all customary at Sparta.” While it is an unfortunate fact in the study of Achaemenid history that our major sources are virtually all Greek, it appears clear that Persian kings “could have more than one wife” (Brosius 1996: 69). Herodotus (1. 135) reports that “each Persian married many wives.” While Cyrus the Great on occasion married

foreign women to form alliances and to confirm victories (Brosius 1996: 42–7), Persian kings typically only married into the families of the Persian elite (Hdts 3. 84. 2; Briant 2002: 132). Darius I simultaneously married two of King Cyrus' daughters, one of his granddaughters, and the daughter of the Persian aristocrat Otanes (Hdts. 3. 88. 2–3). The desire to maintain the power of the royal family was such that two kings are recorded as marrying respectively sisters and daughters. Cyrus' son Cambyses is reported as having married two of his sisters (Hdt. 3. 31. 1–6), and Artaxerxes II (Plut *Art.* 23. 4), two of his daughters. This was not a Greek practice (Wilgaux 2011: 225–6),¹⁴ nor a Macedonian one.

Philip's marriages certainly do not reflect contemporary Persian practice. With the exception of his last wife, Philip married foreign women (Tronson 1984: 116–26). Philip and Alexander married mostly to forge alliances with foreign peoples (Satyrus F-21=Athen. 13. 557 B-E; Plut. *Comp. Demetr. et Ant.* 4); however, Carney has argued that Perdiccas II's first and second wives came likely from the Macedonian aristocracy (Carney 2000C: 17, 22). Even the practice of marrying a predecessor's wife is possible, if Perdiccas II's second wife Cleopatra I is the same woman by that name who married Archelaus, her then stepson (Carney 2000C: 21). While it could be claimed that the last of Philip's seven marriages to the niece of a prominent Macedonian aristocrat, Attalus, one of the joint commanders of the forces subsequently sent to Asia to spearhead Philip's planned invasion (Diod. 16. 93. 9), was to cement an alliance with an important Macedonian family, our only sources to comment on the reason for the marriage describe it as a love match (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 4; Athen. 13. 557D), not a calculated, political, alliance. Given that Philip was planning to march to Asia, it becomes difficult to see what would be gained by allying with one of the many powerful aristocratic families, perhaps, then angering the others. Waldemar Heckel (2003: 199 n. 9) comments that there was no need for Philip to marry again. It would also be unusual, if at this late date, Philip had decided that he needed additional male heirs (see Carney 2000C: 73). Alliances could have been formed through marriages arranged for his sons Alexander and Arrhidaeus. He was later to attempt a marriage between the latter and a daughter of the dynast in Caria (Plut. *Alex.* 10). In addition to his sons, his nephew, Amyntas, the son of his brother King Perdiccas III, was also available. The new

wife was young and that may be the end of it. However, it is just possible that Philip was not thinking of additional heirs, or an alliance with the family of Attalus, or about love, but rather was attempting to cement his ties to the Macedonian aristocracy as a whole. Philip had undermined the power and even the prestige of the Macedonian nobles. He had asserted his authority over the once independent Upper Macedonia; he had created a Macedonian middle class that was tied directly to the king and royal family; he was the *Hegemon* of the Greek League of Corinth. The king likely had alienated members of the aristocracy with the changed nature of the *Hetairos* relationship. Philip was no longer simply a first among equals; he was simply first and utterly foremost. Like Alexander after him, he had moved beyond the traditional role of a Macedonian king. The marriage may have been an attempt to reconnect with this still powerful constituency. This may have been what was ultimately behind Attalus' unfortunate comment following Philip's marriage to Cleopatra, praying to the gods that "from Philip and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate successor to the kingdom" (Plut. *Alex.* 9.6–7). In the confusion of unmixed wine, the real point may not have been directed at Alexander, but rather at all the marriages to foreign women and all the connections with foreign states.

Even though the only clear evidence for Argead polygamy comes from the reigns of Philip and Alexander, it is likely that polygamy was not the innovation of Philip II. As Elizabeth Carney (2000C: 23) comments, "It is striking that neither Philip nor Alexander were criticized for originating the practice of polygamy or simply for being polygamous." However, if the practice of multiple marriages was copied from the Persians, it was likely done long before the accession of Philip II (Greenwalt 1989: 22–3), even if given the dearth of information on Macedonia before the reigns of her two most famous monarchs, the antiquity of polygamy in Macedonia cannot be decisively proven. The earliest evidence for a Macedonian king having more than one wife goes back no further than Philip's father, Amyntas III. He is recorded as having sons by both Eurydice and Gygaea (Just. 7. 4. 5). However, despite Greenwalt's (1989: 27–8) argument that this was indeed polygamy, it is still unclear whether he was married to both at the same time or sequentially. While the existence of the practice, perhaps, goes back at least as far as Alexander I (ca. 498–454) (Greenwalt 1989: 22–30), a king who

was for a time subject to the Persian Empire, it is more likely that royal polygamy was indigenous to the more tribal areas of northern Greece. The neighboring Thracians practiced polygamy (Heraclid. Pont. Frg. 28); and Macedonian soldiers serving with Alexander in Asia apparently had no compulsion against marrying Asian women in addition to their Macedonian wives (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4–8). Yet, after Alexander's death only Seleucus of the Diadochi remained married to his Asiatic wife, and Alexander ordered the common soldiers who had children by both Macedonian and Asiatic wives to leave their Asiatic family behind. The reason given is that there would be conflict between the respective mothers and offspring (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 12. 2). In the world of the *polis*, monogamy helped define citizenship (Lape 2002/2003: 118, 126–35). However, in a society where kingship is the norm and is related to clan leadership, having numbers of potential heirs would be seen as a necessity. Polygamy was certainly practiced by Alexander's successors (Seibert 1967: 27–33, 45–50, 93–6, 100–3). Parallels have been noted between Macedonian and early Medieval royal polygamy (Carney 1987: 37–8; Greenwalt 1989: 32–4).

Kienast (1973: 262–3) also claims that the hypaspists were modeled on the Persian 10,000 Immortals, and the 1,000 man *agema* of the hypaspists, on the 1,000 Persian *Melophoroi* (Apple-bearers) (1973: 262–3), drawn from the 10,000 (Athen. 12. 514C). Clearly Alexander later recognized the similarity between the hypaspist *agema* and the Persian *melophoroi* when he associated 500 men from each unit and created his guard in the royal reception tent (Athen. 12. 539E; Ael. *VH* 9. 3; Polyae. 4. 3. 24). Yet, the similarity may have been simply accidental. Apparently every tribal chief had his own personal armed retinue, troops who attended the monarch on a permanent basis. Langaras, the king of the Agrianians, possessed just such a personal guard, “the finest and best armed troops he possessed” (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 5. 2). The Spartan kings had a guard of at least 100 (Hdts. 5. 62), and maybe as many as 300 (Thuc. 5. 72. 3).

In addition to the infantry guard likely being common enough in Greek and neighboring monarchies, the very nature of this unit in Philip's Macedonia was significantly different from any postulated Persian counterpart. These were professional citizen soldiers, not the mere guardians and subjects of the king but his fellow Macedonians. As noted, they were regarded as “foot

companions.” What Philip had created in his Macedonian infantry guard was Greek to the core. His innovation was then not only the increase in the size and in the training of his guard unit, but in its very nature. Philip’s model was likely borrowed from Thebes. Philip had spent time as a hostage for his brother Alexander II’s “good behavior” in Thebes (Just. 6. 9. 7; Diod. 15. 67. 4; Plut. *Pel.* 26). In the mid-fourth century, Thebes, at the head of a league of cities inhabiting the Boeotian plain, the Boeotian League, was the greatest military power in the Greek world. Her infantry had soundly defeated the previously ascendant Spartans. The Spartans had dominated land conflict due primarily to their professional citizen-army. Trained from the age of seven, a Spartan male’s entire adult life was spent in the Spartan army. Other Greek troops had little training other than in actual combat. In part, to offset this professional Spartan edge the Thebans in the fourth century had inaugurated the “Sacred Band,” a body of 300 soldiers, supported by the state as full-time, citizen, hoplites (Plut. *Pel.* 18–19). As a hostage in Thebes (Just. 7. 5. 1; Plut. *Pel.* 26.5), Philip would have seen how effective having such a body that combined the expertise of mercenaries with the patriotism of citizens could be. The concept of creating a professional-citizen corps within an otherwise usually recruited citizen army, however, did not originate with the Thebans, but rather with the Argives (Diod. 12. 75. 7; Thuc. 5. 67. 2). While the “1,000” were militarily effective (Diod. 12. 79. 4, 6–7; Thuc. 5. 73. 2–3), they also proved dangerous to the Argive democracy and were eventually put to death (Diod. 12. 80. 2–3).

Philip’s professional, citizen-soldiers were the *pezhetairoi*, the later hypaspists (Anson 1985A: 246–8). Over time, as Philip’s successes mounted and his resources increased substantially, the personal relationship between king and soldiers was expanded to include Philip’s entire heavy infantry (Anson 2004: 226–30), with the guard growing to 3,000 men and their name changed to hypaspists, perhaps, a previous unofficial title reflecting their position as king’s guards. As noted earlier, the King of the Agrianians, Langarus’ guard was titled hypaspist.

During Philip’s reign, as with previous Macedonian monarchs, most of the government was loosely organized around the king and his *betairoi*. This very Homeric system would be altered under Philip’s direction, but not in any truly dramatic fashion. Most of the informality of the Macedonian court would remain (Adams

1986: 45–8), and, indeed, the view of the king as “companion” was enhanced with the inauguration of the foot-companions. There would, however, be a bit more bureaucracy and ceremony under Philip than in previous administrations. Here, an argument can be made that at least in concept some of these new institutions were borrowed from the Persians (Kienast 1973: 251–2). One such possible borrowing from a Persian exemplar may be the establishment of a Macedonian chancellery. Beginning in 342, when a 19-year-old Cardian Greek, Eumenes, was brought into Philip’s service as the king’s personal secretary (Plut. *Eum.* 1. 4; Nep. *Eum.* 1. 5; Anson 2004: 35–40), there began to emerge a Macedonian secretariat, with the Cardian as the chief or royal secretary (Plut. *Eum.* 1. 2; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 6). Whether it was Philip, Eumenes, or both who initiated the creation of the royal secretariat is unknown. While N. G. L. Hammond (Hammond and Walbank 1988: 18) states that Eumenes came to Macedonia as “a junior secretary,” this premise is based on his belief that King Alexander I had established the Macedonian royal chancellery (Hammond 1988B: 131; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 18). Given that the Athenian state only created a state archive some time between 409 and 405 (Boegehold 1972: 23–30), it would appear unlikely that the less bureaucratic, less imperial, Macedonia, would have established a royal secretariat so early (Anson 1996: 501–4). The necessity of a chancellery only arises with the growth of Macedonian power and influence in the reign of Philip. Now, if there was Persian influence in its creation, it was likely minor and only one of several such influences. Moreover, it could be argued that an example is not required to see the need for the maintenance of an archive and a chancellery. The secretariat clearly evolved with the growing complexity of the Macedonian state.

One very possible Persian influence was the practice of keeping a log of the king’s daily activities, the *Ephemerides*, but this is more likely to be associated with Alexander III (Hammond 1988B: 134 and n. 17; Anson 1996: 501–4). This was a Persian practice (*Est.* 6: 1; 10: 2; *Ezra* 4: 15; Hdts. 8. 85. 4, 90. 4) and was in all probability inaugurated by Alexander sometime after the death of Bessus when the young Macedonian king began to adopt many Persian features into his court and administration (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 7. 4–5; Plut. *Alex.* 45). Our only record of this daily log comes from Roman sources

and only references events late in Alexander's reign (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 25. 1–26. 3; Plut. *Alex.* 76; Ael. *VH* 3. 23). These references are likely from a published extract and not from the original (Anson 1996: 503).

There are two institutions likely introduced by Philip that do owe their origin chiefly to Persian influence. These are the *Basilicoi Paides* (Kienast 1973: 264–6), the royal pages, and the *Somatophylaces* (Kienast 1973: 261–3), the seven-man, elite, aristocratic, bodyguard. Philip and Alexander were protected by four units called at some point “guards,” with all being responsible for the king's safety whether on the battlefield, during the hunt, at court, or in his bedchamber (Heckel 1986: 279). These were the already discussed hypaspists, or more particularly the 1,000-man *agema* of the hypaspists, the royal pages, the “Seven” bodyguards, and the *Ilê Basilikê*, an aristocratic “royal” cavalry squadron of the “Companion Cavalry,” amounting to 300 horsemen (Griffith and Hammond 1979: 409; Hammond 1991: 396–418; Rzepka 2008: 49–50). Of these only the *Ilê* dates from early in Macedonian history. As noted, the military of Macedonia prior to Philip was almost exclusively cavalry. Prior to Philip these were likely young aristocrats closely linked to the royal family. Later, possibly under Philip and certainly under Alexander these companion cavalymen were the elite of the noble class. These troops as they later did with Alexander in Asia performed the dual duties of being the principal strike force of the cavalry and the guardians of the monarch during military operations when he rode with them. Philip may have increased the size of the royal squadron; at the same time, he was more than tripling the size of the companion cavalry from 600 when he came to the throne (Diod 16. 4. 3) to 2,000 at the Battle of Chaeronea (Diod. 16. 85. 5). But, the origin of the unit was likely ancient and owed its beginning to tribal factors rather than foreign influence.

The “Pages,” on the other hand, were young men whose fathers were in the main prominent aristocratic Macedonians, including those from Upper Macedonia (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 13. 1; Ael. *VH* 14. 48; Curt. 5. 1. 42; Diod. 17. 65. 1). Arrian (*Anab.* 4. 13. 1) expressly states that the institution was introduced by Philip. While often referred to as “*paides*,” it is clear that these were young men, not children. Curtius (5. 1. 42; 8. 2. 35, 6. 2, 8, 25) routinely calls them *iuvēni*. Hammond (1990: 266) reasonably asserts that the young

men became pages at roughly 14 years of age and graduated to other responsibilities by their eighteenth birthday. Their duties were to guard the king while he slept, mount the king on his horse "in the Persian style," attend him in the hunt (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 13. 1; Curt. 5. 1. 42; 8. 6. 4), guard him while dining (Curt. 5. 1. 43; 8. 6. 5), and during their final year as pages, serve with the king in combat (Hammond 1990: 266). The institution came to serve as a sort of school for future military commanders (Curt. 5. 1. 42; 8. 6. 6). That the pages were modeled on a similar institution in the Persian Empire appears clear. Xenophon (*Anab.* 1. 9. 3–6) describes the Persian pages as performing many of the same tasks as their Macedonian counterparts, such as mounting the king and attending him during the "hunt." Xenophon also speaks of the pages being taught correct court etiquette and secondarily the art of the hunt and warfare. While the Macedonian system clearly emphasized etiquette less and hunting and warring more, the setting in both is of a court in which the king is recognized as the preeminent power. Curtius' (8. 6. 2–6) assessment that they were educated to become the generals and governors of the Macedonians certainly suggests a more bureaucratic system than can be found with previous Macedonian rulers. The ancient *hetairoi* relationship between king and nobles was built on camaraderie, not on the basis of royal preeminence. It is this argument, more than any particular piece of source evidence, that gives Kienast's (1973: 264–6) claim that the program was initiated by Philip II the greatest support. Even those who doubt that Philip was the institution's initiator, wish to see that monarch as effecting major changes in its recruitment and functioning. G. T. Griffith (1979: 401) suggests that, while the institution was ancient, Philip "developed the institution as no king had done before," and Waldemar Heckel (1986: 281), while stating that no firm conclusion can be drawn as to the origin of the institution, suggests that at the least the recruitment of the sons of Upper Macedonian nobles should be attributed to Philip.

All of our evidence for the origin of this institution comes from the reign of Alexander the Great and from authors of the Roman imperial period and are contradictory. Arrian (*Anab.* 4. 13. 1) and Aelian (*VH* 14. 49) appear to associate the institution with Philip, while Valerius Maximus (3. 3. Ext. 1) and Curtius (8. 8. 3) suggest a more ancient origin. The first two references' clarity has been

challenged (Hammond 1990: 264; Bosworth 1995: 90–1), while the latter two can be impeached for their rhetorical character. Valerius offers a collection of anecdotes for the use of rhetoricians, while the Curtian passage occurs in the midst of a speech attributed to Alexander the Great (8. 8. 1–18). Other supposed evidence concerns what was apparently the rather endemic practice of pederasty at the royal court from early times. Hammond (1990: 263–5) wishes to identify such young men and their association with the king with the institution of the pages, but Aristotle, thanks to his presence in Macedonia as Alexander's tutor and thereby certainly knowledgeable concerning the institution of pages, makes no such connection. Diodorus (14. 37. 6) reports that King Archelaus was killed while hunting in 399 BC by Craterus, "his beloved." Aristotle (*Pol.* 5. 1311B), describing the same incident, calls it a possible case of revenge for sexual abuse. Hammond (1990: 263) concludes, based on Aelian, *Varia Historia* 12. 43, that Amyntas, the son of Menelaus and the future Amyntas II, was a page. Here the young man is called a "slave" and Hammond deduces, "in other words Amyntas had been a Page." At no time are any of these alleged pages given that title. This passage in Aelian, moreover, is a listing of all those who have succeeded despite their lowly births. In the same passage, Eumenes of Cardia, the royal secretary, is described as the son of a poor funeral musician, when he likely came from the elite of his home city (Plut. *Eum.* 1. 3; Anson 2004: 36); Antigonus Monophthalmus, general and successor of Alexander the Great, the son of a manual laborer (contra: Heckel 1992: 51).

The likely purpose for the creation of this institution was to hold the sons as guarantors of their fathers' good behavior and secondarily to forge the loyalty of the next generation of aristocrats to the Macedonian king, his heir, and the nation. That aristocrats would willingly surrender their sons as potential hostages would only make sense if the status of the relationship of the king and nobles was strongly in favor of the king and attendance at court had become desirable to maintain power and prestige. Early Macedonian kings lacked the political or economic wherewithal to dominate the state in this fashion. It was Philip who had altered the preceding relationship between king and *hetairoi*. The mines he had acquired in Thrace gave him 1,000 talents of gold a year (Diod. 16. 8. 7; Dem. 18. 235), he collected a tithe from the Thracians (Diod.

16. 71. 2) and the import/export duties in Thessaly (Dem. 6. 22; 19. 89). He had created a Macedonian heavy infantry and tied these individuals to himself through the innovation of the *pezhetairoi*. With Philip, the source of power, wealth, and increasingly of honor, was the king. Most of Alexander's elite officers had started their careers as pages for his father (Heckel 1992: 243–4).

Much of the argument surrounding the origin of the pages can, likewise, be applied to the *Somatophylaces*. During the reign of Alexander, the *somatophylaces*, who numbered seven until the brief addition of Peucestas by Alexander in 325 (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 28. 3), were the most elite of the various bodyguards associated with the person of the king. These individuals represented the most privileged of the *hetairoi* and only served in the court. Until late in Alexander's reign appointment away from court led to their replacement. Balacrus, son of Nicanor, served as one of the seven until he was appointed to the satrapy of Cilicia, when Menes, son of Dionysius, replaced him as bodyguard (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 12. 2). The Persian king also apparently had a body of seven councilors who were "privileged to see the king's face" (*Est.* 1:14; *Ezra* 7. 14; Xen. *Anab.* 1. 6. 4–10; Hdts 5. 24. 2; 7. 50. 3). Now, if this institution was borrowed from the Persians, it was done so with quite a bit of variation on a theme. The Persian monarch was virtually inaccessible except to a special few (Xen. *Ages.* 9. 1–2), "invisible to all" ([Aris.] *De Mundo* 398A), a most unMacedonian royal quality (Adams 1986: 47–52). Moreover, the Persian "Seven" were councilors and judges, not guards (Cook 1983: 144–5). The Persian king was ultimately guarded by the 10,000 *doryphoroi* or the immortals (Hdts. 7. 41; Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 5. 66–8), but those in charge of the bedchamber were eunuchs (Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 5. 65). The Macedonian "Seven" shared with the pages the guarding of the king's bedchamber; the pages guarding the outside and the *somatophylaces* the inside of the chamber (Heckel 1986: 285, 289), in addition to their other duties. However, it does appear to have been introduced by Philip II. Griffith (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 403) has claimed that this was an ancient office, a mark of special distinction and honor that by the time of Alexander had become primarily a ceremonial one, "a mark of the king's special favor." These officers do appear to have served more as councilors than as true bodyguards. But, as with the pages, their association with the court and their "special distinction" as bodyguards

implies a relationship not of companions but of royal servants, an honor only in a society where the king and his court are the center of power and advancement. In the Achaemenid court, “servants” were recruited mainly from the Persian nobility (Brosius 2007: 27). An elaborate court was used by a king to emphasize his position and his superiority over all others (Brosius 2007: 17). All of the Persian king’s subjects, even brothers, were regarded as his slaves (Xen. *Anab.* 1. 7. 3, 9. 29; 2. 5. 38). This was hardly the case in Philip’s Macedonia. That changes were in the wind is clear from the very establishment of the *somaphylaces*. In a warrior world where the king is simply the first among equals, guarding the king’s bedchamber is not esteemed an honor. Perhaps, in origin the *somaphylaces* were young men associated with the court for whom it was so regarded.

With respect to the Macedonian world outside the palace, Philip exercised a loose control. Much of the countryside not incorporated into municipal entities was still dominated by the king’s aristocratic *hetairoi*. Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F-224–5) reports that many of these *hetairoi*, including numbers of non-Macedonians, received large tracks of land from Philip making them among the richest individuals in the entire Greek world, their loyalty secured by these ample gifts, which could be taken away at any time (Mehl 1980–1: 173–212). As Billows notes with respect to the later Hellenistic monarchs, the granting of land was “a powerful inducement to future loyalty” (Billows 1995: 132–7). Philip was in the position to treat much of his realm as “spear-won” land.¹⁵ As he supposedly proclaimed to the Athenians with respect to his seizure of Amphipolis, it was his “by the right of conquest in war” (Dem. 12. 22). His son Alexander was later to claim all of Asia as his by this same doctrine (Diod. 17. 17. 2; Justin 11. 5. 10). Prior to crossing to Asia, Alexander gave land and villages to his companions (Plut. *Alex.* 15. 3).¹⁶

While Philip apparently left much of Macedonia to be dominated by the noble class, he did transform the country through his acquisition of cities and through his own urban foundations (Ellis 1976: 34; Billows 1995: 9–11; Hammond 1993: 19–20). During Philip’s reign, many Greek cities along or near the coast became part of the kingdom (Diod. 16. 8. 2–3; Dem. 1. 5; 20. 63). While Pydna had been part of the Macedonian king’s domains during much of the fifth century (Thuc. 1. 137. 1; Plut. *Them.* 25–6; Diod.

13. 49. 1–2) and well into the fourth, in 364/3 it was seized by Timotheus and held by the Athenians (Din. 1. 14, 3. 17; Isoc. 15. 113), Philip captured it along with Amphipolis in 357 (Diod. 16. 8. 2–3). Philip captured the Thasian colony of Crenides (Diod. 16.3.7) in 356, and refounded it as Philippi (Hammond and Griffith, 1979: 2: 358). Additionally, many existing Macedonian communities grew in size during Philip's administration and many new communities came into existence. While Xenophon describes Pella in 383 BC as the largest city in Macedonia (*Hell.* 5. 2. 13), Strabo (7. frg 20) later comments that prior to Philip II it was a "small city." Philip is also recorded as founding "strong cities at key locations" in Thrace (Diod. 16. 71. 1–2; Dem. 8. 44), and along his frontier with Illyria (Dem. 4. 48; see Hammond and Griffith 1979: 654). With respect to Thrace, there are references to Macedonian foundations at Philippopolis (*FGrH* 115 F-110; Pliny *NH* 4. 18), Drongilus, Calybe,¹⁷ and Mastira (Dem. 8. 44; Str. 7. 6. 2). Alexander, while acting as regent, founded his own city, Alexandropolis, with a mixed population in Thrace (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 1). The population of cities would frequently be augmented by the incorporation of Macedonians, or by settlers from surrounding areas, into the existing population (Dem. 18.182), as well as on occasion completely replacing the previous inhabitants (see Plut. *Alex.* 9. 1). Justin (8. 6. 1) even records that Philip II increased city populations with prisoners of war. Indeed, Justin (8. 5. 7) in a general statement records that Philip "capriciously transplanted whole people and cities as he felt regions needed to be populated or depopulated." Even though these forced movements created general dissatisfaction, there apparently was little outward sign of displeasure, since those forced to move feared punishment for any such demonstration (Just. 8. 5. 8–13). Such movements were not only frequent with conquered cities (Dem. 18. 182) but also employed with existing Macedonian communities. In the case of Crenides, aka Philippi, its acquisition is mentioned without a hint of a siege or the expulsion of any of its citizens, but it is noted that Philip increased its population (Diod. 16. 8. 6, 3. 7). There is no mention of the origin of these new settlers, but Griffith may well be correct that they came from the surrounding area and, perhaps, included numbers of Chalcidians (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 360–1), but it is also likely that many Macedonians were included as well. Previously, in 357, when Amphipolis was betrayed to Philip

(Dem. 4. 4.), even though many of the inhabitants were enslaved (Plut. *Mor.* 851A), much of the population remained and was supplemented by a large number of Macedonian settlers (Diod. 16. 8. 2; Dem. 18. 182; Ellis 1976: 66), including a number of Macedonian aristocrats (Arr. *Ind.* 18. 5). Miltiades Hatzopoulos (1996A: 182) has shown through an examination of deeds of sale from Amphipolis that Macedonians from both Upper and Lower Macedonia became settlers in that city. A similar situation was apparently also true with respect to Pydna (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 356–7).

Cities either acquired by conquest or created by Philip or a hybrid of both typically had a great deal of autonomy with their own magistrates and local assembly (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 129–65; Gauthier 1993: 211–2). There was, however, no doubt who had overall authority. In 357, when Philip II captured Amphipolis, the city maintained many of its institutions (Tod 1948: 2: 150; Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 242), and its assembly was able to pass decrees of exile (Tod 1948: 150, l. 1). However, this last was likely done at the insistence of the Macedonian king, for Diodorus (16. 8. 2) reports that after capturing the city Philip exiled those who were disaffected. Philip may simply have chosen to have the people of Amphipolis do his bidding in this regard. One of the two individuals banished, Stratocles (Tod 1948: 150, ll. 2–3), presumably is the same ambassador who with Hierax had earlier led an embassy to Athens offering to surrender the city in exchange for Athenian protection (*FGrH* 115 F-42J). When Alexander “liberated” Chios, as *Hegemon* of the League of Corinth, he recalled Chian exiles, ordered that a democratic constitution be created and sent to him for approval, and imposed a garrison (Tod 1948: 263–4; Heisserer 1980: 79–95). Later, in a second communication to the Chians, Alexander ordered prosecutions of those who supported the Persians and intercedes on behalf of a “friend” (Heisserer 1980: 101, l. 13). Alexander concludes this second communication with “By doing these things you will gratify me, and if you were to request anything from me I should be more enthusiastic towards you” (Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 422–3). From the various examples from these two reigns, whether control was achieved through elected or imposed officials, autonomy was limited, especially in the area of foreign affairs, and often subject to the ruler’s whims.

During Hellenistic times, the presence of a royal official called the *epistates* became common in the cities (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 165–6), and may date from the reign of Philip II (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 388–9; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 476). The origin of this official might, perhaps, come from the practices of certain Greek cities on Macedonia's coast. In Athens, an *epistates* was a supervisory official with authority over a variety of different tasks and might serve for anywhere from one day to a year (Hammond 1999A: 370). Certain inscriptions recording deeds of sale from Amphipolis are dated by an annual, eponymous, *epistates* (Hatzopoulos 1996B: 99–104). Hatzopoulos argues that these magistrates may have been elected by the citizens of Amphipolis, but because of their position they were answerable to the central government (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 426–9). “It seems improbable that the citizens of any Macedonian community would dare elect a candidate unacceptable to the king” (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 429). What, however, appears to be clear is that, even though Philip and later Alexander favored oligarchy in the cities of southern Greece, Macedonian cities operated more-or-less democratically, under the ultimate control of the monarch. “Urban autonomy was probably allowed in certain limits, depending on the Crown's interests” (Errington 2002: 9). This practice certainly carried over with Alexander into Asia where democratic governments were installed routinely and into the Hellenistic Age as well (Billows 1995: 70–80). In the case of Philippi, a very fragmentary inscription does indicate that land disputes were routinely submitted to the king or his representative (Hatzopoulos 1996B: 26–7). We do not know what level of control previous kings had over cities in Macedonia ostensibly under their power before Philip, but it is likely that it was less than that exercised by the latter. The imposition of democratic government in Macedonia likely resulted not only from the general lack of bureaucracy within the kingdom but also from the king's close connection to the newly created middle class.

After Philip's acquisition of Amphipolis, in addition to the extensive grants of land to prominent members of the Macedonian aristocracy (Arr. *Ind.* 18.4), land was also given to a broad range of nonaristocratic Macedonians (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 182). Griffith (1965: 136; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 361–2; see also Papazoglou

1988: 105–6) has argued that, when Methone was destroyed and its land given out to “Macedonians” (Diod. 16. 34. 5; Dem. 4. 35; Justin 7. 6. 14–16), these recipients were ordinary Macedonians, not aristocrats. This was probably also the case with Apollonia, Olynthus, and 32 other communities in or near Thrace (Dem. 9. 26; Diod. 16. 53. 3; Just. 8. 3. 14–15; Hatzopoulos 1996A: 190–2, 195–6). These towns and villages are associated by Demosthenes with Methone as having been destroyed by Philip, and while he does not state that the land was given to Macedonians, it would, given the example of Methone, appear likely. An inscription records Alexander’s gifts to individual “Macedonians” of lands associated with the Bottiaean towns of Calindoea, Thamiscia, Camacaea, and Tripoatis (Hammond 1988B: 383, *ll.* 5–10; 385–6; Hatzopoulos 1996A: 121–2; 1996B: 84–5). The practice of granting land in return for either infantry or cavalry service was certainly a common practice in the Hellenistic period.¹⁸ While these lands could be inherited, bought, and sold, they were still subject to repossession by the king (Billows 1995: 132–7). This was apparently true of all land. Even though Hatzopoulos argues that this revocability was true only of “royal land,” not of land that became associated with a city or “city land,” Billows argues effectively that the king retained “at least a limited right of ‘eminent domain’ over the land granted to the colonists of [a] city” (Billows 1995: 134–7). This is certainly borne out by the ability of Macedonian monarchs to transfer populations almost at will.

The true revolution ushered in by Philip II was the result of his disbursement of lands to common Macedonians as well as to his prominent *hetairoi*. Not only did this ultimately result, in conjunction with Philip’s military reforms, in the first effective Macedonian infantry force, but it also turned formerly dependent tenant farmers and herdsmen into loyal defenders of the monarchy and especially the king who had made them landowners (Anson 2008: 17–30). Alexander the Great in a speech to the army at Opis (Arr. *Anab.* 7.9.2) proclaimed: “Philip found you wandering and poor, wearing goatskins and grazing a few goats on the mountains . . . he brought you down from the mountains to the plains . . . and made you dwellers in cities.” The authenticity of this speech in Arrian, however, has been challenged (e.g. Wüst 1953/4: 177–88; Carney 1996: 29, 33, 38). While Hammond (1998: 249–50) speaks for those who accept the content of the speech, if not the

actual form, Elizabeth Carney (1996: 33; see also Brunt 1983: 532–3) argues, “We need not believe a word of any of the speeches included in our surviving sources . . . like most speeches preserved in ancient historical writers, these deserve little credence,” and A. B. Bosworth proclaims this particular speech “an absurdity” (Bosworth 1988: 108). D. B. Nagle (1996: 151–72) has declared that “the substance of the speech was spoken by Alexander at Opis” (152), but that it was a piece of propaganda summarizing the “official version of Philip’s reign,” and hence not necessarily reflective of reality (153, 169–70). While the actual words probably do owe much to Arrian, what it claims for Alexander’s father is accurate (Cawkwell 1978: 17–18; Hammond 1999B: 249–50). Even as a piece of propaganda it must have had some basis in reality for Alexander to emphasize it in front of those who would be very well aware of its truthfulness or falsity. The evidence suggests that Philip had, indeed, transformed Macedonia in much the same way as the speech suggests, but certainly not to the extent implied. Philip’s army was itself a testimony to the economic transformation of Macedonia. After his victory on the Granicus, Alexander granted to the parents and the children of the slain “remission of land taxes, and of all other personal services and property taxes” (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 5). At Opis, Alexander, referring to those who had died on the long campaign in general, stated that “their parents have been freed from all services and taxes” (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 10. 4). The land tax, while, perhaps, only applying to “king’s land,” may in fact have been imposed on all land owners (Bosworth 1980B: 126). The implication then is that most of the Macedonians in Alexander’s army were landowners or at least the children of landowners.

Hammond’s (1989: 153, 165) claim that Philip changed Macedonian agriculture from transhumance to settled agriculture is clearly exaggerated. Transhumant agriculture did not disappear or suffer a “steep decline” (Skydsgaard 1988: 78–82). New lands, however, were brought under cultivation, the population through territorial expansion increased, and new cities emerged (Billows, 1995: 29). Yet, Philip’s revolution involved so much more. Much of the subsequent economic transformation of Macedonia was the result of the efforts of these new landowners. Nonland-owning agricultural workers are not likely to make significant improvements to the land they work (Hanson 1995: 35). They tend to plant

annual crops, avoiding those that require years of nurture before they become productive, which might go to the benefit of others (Bartlett 1980: 555). Now, these new Macedonian landowners had a vested interest in improvement. These new landowners now possessed the desire to defend their king and country for they had a vested interest in doing both. Protecting their king now meant also protecting their lands.

The granting of land apparently was especially effective in instilling the loyalty of Macedonians from the highlands of Upper Macedonia. While much of Philip's success in securing these lands was the result of his granting of extensive grants to the upland aristocrats of land in Lower Macedonia, thus removing them from permanent attachment to their former homelands, still loyalty of this region to subsequent Macedonian monarchs is notable. Alexander felt no qualms brigading the troops from Upper Macedonia according to their old respective kingdoms (Diod. 17.57.2) and even placing these troops under the command of aristocrats native to the particular region. Given Upper Macedonia's history of practical independence from the Argead monarch, it is curious that after Philip II's annexation of these formerly independent kingdoms (Diod. 16.8.1, 1.5) right up to the Roman conquest, there is only one attested regional revolt of an area roughly corresponding to a former Upper Macedonian kingdom, and that, if it occurred at all, took place in 197 BC (Polyb. 18.47.6), one-and-a-half centuries after this area's annexation to the Macedonian kingdom.¹⁹

Philip, during his 20-year reign, converted what had been almost exclusively a dependent population of herdsmen and tenants into a nation containing thousands of loyal landowners. Philip, by his actions both inside and outside of Macedonia, apparently gained a reputation as a friend of the common man. Polyaeus (4.2.19) reports that Philip was "a friend to the people," and Strabo (9.5.19; *FGrH* 115 F-81) has this monarch freeing the *penestai* of Perrhaebia from the control of Larisa and eliminating their tribute.²⁰ John Ellis (1976: 27) and Richard Billows (1995: 9–10, 136–37, 200–1) believe that most Macedonians prior to Philip held a status akin to that of the Thessalian *penestai* or of the Spartan helots. In the respective Hellenistic states in Asia there were the *laoi*; these individuals were part of the indigenous population, as distinct from the Macedonian/Greek settlers. Greeks had often created serf-like populations from those conquered in

foreign lands (van Wees 2003: 34), and both Aristotle (*Pol.* 7. 1330a. 25–31) and Isocrates (3. 5; 4. 131) encouraged making “barbarians” into serfs for the Greeks. The Milesians turned the native Mariandynians into serfs when they colonized Heraclea on the Pontus (Pl. *Leg.* 6. 776C–D; Str. 12. 3. 4; Athen. 6. 263C–D; Ducat 1990: 31–3), and the Megarians had enslaved the local Bithynians in the foundation of Byzantium (*FGrH* 81. F–8; Ducat 1990: 35). Likewise, the *penestai* and the Spartan helots were believed to be a “foreign” element by the “free” population (Thuc. 1. 101. 2; Athen. 6. 284A; Garlan 1988: 95). Even though there is no reference to a distinct subject class in Macedonia, Ellis’s and Billow’s conclusion would appear likely, especially with respect to Upper Macedonia. Here the neighboring Illyrian Dardanians and Ardians had subject populations who apparently tilled the soil (Athen. 6. 272D; 10. 443C; Garlan 1988: 104). Macedonia’s dependent class, however, probably had more in common with the *hectemoroî* and the *pelatai* of Solonian Athens (*Ath. Pol.* 2. 2), than with Thessalian *penestai* or Spartan helots. The Macedonian practice historically had been to exterminate or expel conquered populations (Thuc. 2. 99. 3–5). While foreign slaves may have been in some quantity during and after the reign of Philip II (Diod. 16. 8. 5, 53. 3; Just. 8. 3. 2–3; 9. 2. 15, 3. 3; Paus. 5. 23. 3). The dependent pastoralists and farmers freed from this status by Philip were poor Macedonians themselves, not a subject, conquered population, real or imagined. These holders of King’s land became “citizen soldiers” (“*stratiôkôn politikôn*”) (Diod. 18. 12. 2). Many have examined Philip’s achievement from the perspective of creating political unity through his military reforms (Ellis 1976: 8, 231), building an army-based state (Billows 1995: 15–20), generating an economic transformation based on the exploitation of royal monopolies (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 658–74; Hammond 1989: 177–87; 1995: 22–9), or shaping a constitutional revolution (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 270–1), but his most revolutionary act was social and psychological. In transforming many thousands of peasants and herdsmen into land-owning Macedonians, he created a confident and exceedingly loyal population, loyal both to the monarch who had given them their land and who defended their possession of it and also to the institution of the monarchy itself. Early modern rulers often sided or pretended to side with their peasantry against the aristocratic landlords, and these small

land holders often became staunch supporters of the royal regime (Rebel 1983: 3–4). As Billows (1995: 132–7) notes with respect to the later Hellenistic monarchs, the granting of land was “a powerful inducement to future loyalty.” Billows, however, sees this loyalty as stemming from the inherent revocability of the royal grants, which may also be true of Philip and Alexander, but with respect to these particular kings the allegiance seems one of devotion rather than of fear. The importance of land to a rural population has not changed from antiquity to the modern day. The desire for land on the part of the landless or the small landowner encumbered by debt or obligation has sparked revolution across the centuries. Peter Brunt (1988: 240–75) has demonstrated that it played a significant role in the so-called Roman Revolution that saw the overthrow of the Republic and the installation of the regime of Augustus, and it has become a truism among commentators on modern rural revolutions that what the peasants want is unencumbered land, and that they very often employ violence to obtain it.²¹ While Philip did on occasion enslave conquered peoples (Diod. 16. 8. 5, 53. 3; Just. 8. 3. 2–3; see also Just. 9. 2. 15, 3. 4; Paus. 5. 23. 3), he freed many of the native Macedonians from their dependence on the aristocratic class. As the passage from Arrian, quoting Alexander concerning his father indicates, many new landholders came from the landless class of Macedonia. While it is certain that herding did not disappear from the Macedonian landscape, Philip, however, did liberate tens of thousands of such individuals from their landlords. Billows (1995: 203) estimates the overall population of Philip’s kingdom as between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000. His analysis, while based on a number of assumptions, appears to yield a fair estimate. If roughly one-fourth of this total were eligible for military service, or 250,000 to 375,000 men, then Philip’s grants could potentially have gone to between 10 and 15 percent of the families of Macedonia. With respect to the size of these grants, no evidence exists for Macedonia during the reign of Philip. However, a later inscription from Attalid Pergamum lists three sizes of military land grants. The largest includes 125 *plethra* of cleared land and 12.5 of vineyard; the smallest 100 *plethra* of cleared land and ten of vineyard.²²

When these land grants to ordinary Macedonians are combined with the extension of the *betairoi* relationship to these recipients,

the result was to produce a Macedonian nation, whose king was the embodiment of this new nationalism. This new Macedonia was only part of his father's legacy to Alexander. Philip through his involvement in the Sacred War was to bring Macedonian power and influence to bear on southern Greece (Buckler 1989). In 356, the Phocians, a tribal federation of autonomous cities in central Greece, seized the site of the Delphic Oracle. This national Greek religious institution was under the control of the Amphictyonic Council, a body representing 13 different Greek peoples²³ created to administer and protect the Oracle, which, however, was located in the midst of Phocian territory. The Phocians argued that the location of the religious site should give them at least special prominence in the Amphictyony over and above the other represented peoples. They had for a time during the fifth century been the masters of Delphi (Plut. *Per.* 21. 1–2; Thuc. 1. 112. 5). In 357, at the urging of Thebes, who then dominated the Council and was traditionally hostile to the Phocians, the latter were convicted of cultivating sacred land belonging to the sanctuary and heavily fined for this "sacrilege" (Diod. 16. 23. 3; Just. 8. 1. 4; Buckler 1989: 16–18). In the summer of 356, the Phocians, unwilling and possibly unable to pay the fine, seized the Oracle and the majority of the other members of the Council declared a sacred war (the Third Sacred War) against Phocis (Diod. 16. 23. 3–6). Among those not voting for war were the Spartans and the Athenians who supported the Phocian position primarily because of their rivalry with the Thebans (Diod. 16. 27. 3–5, 29. 1; Just. 8. 1. 11). This left the conduct of the war largely in the hands of the Thebans and the Thessalians (Diod. 16. 28. 3–29. 1). The Phocians, expecting little help from their allies, plundered the rich sacred treasury of Apollo and hired mercenaries (Diod. 16. 24. 3, 30. 1; Just. 8. 1. 9–10). By 354 this mercenary force numbered 20,000 infantry and 500 cavalry (Buckler 1989: 67). While initially successful, the Thebans and Thessalians were hampered in their pursuit of victory by the Phocian ability to replenish their forces repeatedly through the use of the sacred coffers. Moreover, Thessalian participation in the war was hindered by conflict within the Confederacy itself. The state of Pherae sought to dominate all of Thessaly and allied itself with the Phocians (Diod. 16. 35. 1; Buckler 1989: 48). The Thebans were unable even to defend their own home region of Boeotia from the Phocians let alone assist

the Thessalians. The majority of the latter, unable to resist Pherae alone and without active support from their Theban allies, turned to Philip and the Macedonians (Diod. 16. 35. 1; Just. 8. 2. 1; Buckler 1989: 50–1).

In the spring of 353, Philip as the commander of the allied Thessalians met the Pheraeans and their Phocian allies somewhere on the broad coastal plain near the port of Pagasae in what came to be called the Battle of Crocus Field, so named for the abundance of such plants in the area. Prior to the battle, Philip ordered his troops to crown themselves with laurel, which was sacred to the god Apollo (Just. 8. 2. 3), much as the later Christian crusaders wore the sign of the cross on their foreheads or the front of their garments to show themselves as holy warriors. While Justin (8, 2. 4) attributes Philip's victory to the Phocians being "terror stricken" at the sight of the holy emblems and the memory of their sacrilege, the battle was in the final analysis determined by Philip's cavalry superiority. Here the Macedonian king's "hammer and anvil" strategy was put to good effect. Pinned down by Philip's phalanx, the combined Macedonian and Thessalian cavalry attacked the vulnerable flanks and rear of the enemy, who then ran to the sea. Although an Athenian fleet appeared, few survived the attempt to swim to safety. A group of 6,000 Phocians and their mercenaries perished, including their commander, Onomarchus, with another 3,000 taken prisoner. Onomarchus' dead body was recovered and crucified and the 3,000 survivors thrown into the sea to drown as impious "temple-robbers" (Diod. 16. 35. 4–6, 61. 2; Paus. 10. 2. 5). Philip proceeded to garrison Pagasae, expelled the ruling tyrants from Pherae, marrying a Pheraeans wife in the bargain (Athen. 13. 557C), and brought the various hostilities among the Thessalians to a close. In 352 he was elected the leader, or archon, of the Thessalian Confederacy, and as such acquired control of Thessaly's two seats on the Ampictyonic Council (Dem. 1. 22; 2. 7; 19. 318; Just. 8. 2. 1–2; 11. 3. 2). Philip had become a player in the affairs of the southern Greek world. In 346, Philip with a combined force of Macedonians and Thessalians invaded Phocis and ended the Sacred War (Diod. 16. 59. 2–4). Philip was to preside over the Pythian Games in conjunction with the Boeotians and the Thessalians (Diod. 16. 60. 2) and received the *promanteia* (Dem. 19. 327; see also Dem. 5. 14–15, 22; 19. 128, 132), the right of precedence in consulting the oracle, and the two seats

previously held by the Phocians on the Amphictyonic Council were given to Philip and his heirs (Diod. 16. 60. 1).

In August of 338 an allied Greek army consisting primarily of Athenian and Theban troops, but also containing contingents from other polities, was defeated by Philip and the Macedonians near the city of Chaeronea in the Boeotian plain (Diod. 16. 86; Polyæn. 4. 2. 2 and 7; Just. 9. 3; Frontin. *Strat.* 2. 1. 9).²⁴ Chaeronea put Philip in the dominant position in the Greek world. Here the king's shrewdness, honed over 20 years of rule and triumph, becomes most evident. While the victory on the battlefield meant there was no great coalition to oppose him, the actual conquest of Greece would have involved innumerable sieges and years of conflict. After Chaeronea, Philip encouraged the establishment of a number of oligarchic governments, and in certain critical communities installed garrisons. In Acarnania (Diod. 17. 3. 3), Euboea, Megara, Corinth, and Thebes (Ael. *VH* 6. 1; Just. 9. 4. 7–10), Philip exiled opponents and installed oligarchies, or encouraged such exiles and governmental changes in other states. A garrison was placed in Ambracia (Diod. 17. 3. 3), in the Acrocorinth (Polyb. 38. 3. 3; Plut. *Arat.* 23. 4; Plut. *Mor.* 221 F), and in Thebes (Diod. 16. 87. 3; 17. 8. 3). Philip's partisans likely came to power in Corcyra, Leucas, and Cephallenia as well (Roebuck 1938: 77). The Aetolians in return for their alliance with Philip were given Naupactus (Dem. 9. 34; *FGrH* 115 F-235; Str. 9. 4. 7). While the Athenians maintained their independence (Diod. 16. 87. 3; Paus. 7. 10. 5; Just. 9. 4. 4–5) and even received Oropus back from Thebes, a present from the Macedonian king ([Demades] 1. 9; Paus. 1. 34. 1; Diod. 18. 56. 7), their maritime confederacy was dissolved (Paus. 1. 25. 3). Only Sparta remained outside the domination of Philip (Just. 9. 5. 3). In the late fall of 338, the Macedonian king moved into the Peloponnesus to solidify his hold on his allies and attempt, at the least, to intimidate the Spartans, who, though they had not joined the forces arrayed against Philip at Chaeroneia, were hostile to Macedonian interests (Diod. 16. 89. 3; Roebuck 1938: 84–9). While he was able to reward certain of his Peloponnesian allies at Spartan expense and laid much of Laconia waste (Paus. 3. 24. 6; 5. 4. 9; 7. 10. 3; Polyb. 9. 28. 6–7, 33. 8–12; Plut. *Mor.* 235 A-B), Philip was unable to convince the Spartans to join an alliance and believed that to attempt to force them to do so would be too costly. He, therefore, left the Spartans isolated and bitter.

Philip now returned to Corinth, where cloaking himself in the spirit of Hellenism he organized much of the peninsula into a league, the League of Corinth. At Corinth, Philip created both an alliance and a “common peace” (Tod 1948: 224–31; Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 372–9; Diod. 16. 89; 17. 8. 5; Just. 9. 5), although as noted by Badian (1967: 62) this was to be an aggressive “peace.” The Macedonian king prepared to lead the League on a joint Macedonian-League invasion of the Persian Empire (Just. 9. 5. 1–5; Diod. 16. 89. 1–3). This Hellenic crusade had something for everyone. Those who wished to punish Persia for her intervention in Greek affairs over the centuries; those who saw Persia as a pillagers’ paradise; and those who saw such a crusade as the best way to get Philip out of Greece. Some of the last certainly wished the Persians the best of luck, hoping that Philip would lead an expedition from which he would never return. Chaeronea had put Philip in the dominant position in the Greek world.

An interesting question arises with respect to Philip’s accomplishments during his 24-year reign. Was this all part of some master plan? Demosthenes (6. 2) certainly thought so. The likelihood is best expressed by John Buckler (1996: 91; see also Borza 1990: 209): “There is nothing . . . to suggest a master plan, but there is ample evidence that . . . Philip realized the feasibility of seizing the mastery of Greece.” He was then an aggressive, highly skilled, opportunist.

However, his assassination in 336 at the hands of a disgruntled Macedonian aristocrat made this another part of his legacy to his son and heir, Alexander, soon to be “the Great.” Alexander’s inheritance from his father was a united Macedonian nation, the best fighting force in the ancient world, and hegemony over most of the Greek world. Few sons have owed so much to their fathers. Philip’s assassination, however, has given rise to numerous conspiracy theories in which for some Alexander is at the center (Badian 1963; 2000: 54–6). While there is evidence that the assassin did not act alone, our sources primarily describe the murder as of a very personal nature. Diodorus (16. 93. 3–94. 4) presents the most complete account of the incident. Here, it results from a rivalry between two young men for the affections of the king, the death of one and the outrage of the second. Pausanias, the son of Cerastus, a Macedonian from Orestis, had as a young man been an *eromenos* of the Macedonian king, but

in the king's affections was later replaced by another also named Pausanias. Berated by the elder, the younger Pausanias, having first confided his intentions to Attalus, the uncle of the king's new wife Cleopatra, sought his death willingly and met it gloriously defending the king in battle with the Illyrians. Attalus, to avenge his friend, got the surviving Pausanias drunk and gave him over to some muleteers to be abused. Having recovered, Pausanias told Philip of the incident, but the king did nothing to punish Attalus, but did give the young man substantial presents and made him one of the elite *somaphylaces*. Unmollified, Pausanias now turned his wrath against Philip. In his assessment that the assassination was solely the act of an outraged lover, Diodorus is supported by the comments of the contemporary and tutor of Alexander, Aristotle (*Pol.* 1311b1). Justin (9. 6. 4–7. 3, 9), however, while following in the main Diodorus' account, adds that Olympias had encouraged the assassin and had even provided the getaway horses. It is further claimed by Justin (9. 7. 1) that "Alexander himself was not unaware of the plot." Plutarch (*Alex.* 10. 6–7) reports that Olympias had promoted the assassination. Olympias' estrangement from her husband is well documented and her revenge on his last wife Cleopatra and her infant was savage, murdering both (Paus. 8. 7. 6–7; Just. 9. 7. 12).²⁵ Much of the turmoil in the royal household in the last years of Philip's life revolved around the last of his many marriages. Philip married Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, a prominent Macedonian and one of the two commanders preparing to lead the king's advance force into Asia (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 6–11; Diod. 16. 93. 9). Olympias' later actions towards the new wife suggest that this one of Philip's many marriages upset her profoundly (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 5–6). Her anger may have resulted more from comments made during the symposium following the marriage. These comments also led to an estrangement between father and son. Attalus in toasting the couple prayed that "from Philip and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate successor to the kingdom" (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 7). As noted earlier, in the confusion of unmixed wine, there may have been no insult intended, but Alexander took offense and threw a cup at Attalus. Philip drew his sword and advanced on his son, but in his drunken state tripped and fell. Alexander subsequently took his mother to Epirus while he went into voluntary exile in Illyria (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 8–11; Just. 9. 7. 5–7). It took the intervention

of Demaratus, the Corinthian guest-friend, to reconcile the two (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 12–14). The importance of the incident cannot be discounted, since after Philip's death, Alexander arranged for the murder of Attalus (Diod. 17. 2. 3–6), and it is fairly certain that he had had no part in the assassination, and, therefore, that his death was the result of the hostility between the two men.

Even though, after the marriage party debacle, Alexander had left Macedonia with his mother who for a time remained in Epirus, while Alexander journeyed on to Illyria (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 11; Just. 9. 7. 5–7), Olympias likely had returned to Macedonia along with Alexander (Plut. *Mor.* 179C) prior to Philip's assassination. She was apparently present in Pella during the Pixodarus affair (see below) where she along with Alexander's friends sowed suspicions about Philip's intentions toward his apparent heir (Plut. *Alex.* 10. 1). Olympias is accused by Justin (9. 7. 9–10) of assisting in the murder. Olympias had a tendency to be ruled by her passions. In addition to the murders of Cleopatra and her infant daughter, Olympias would later murder Alexander's half-brother Arrhidaeus, who had succeeded Alexander as king, and his wife Eurydice, the daughter of Cynane, along with Nicanor one of the former regent Antipater's sons, and 100 other noble Macedonians (Diod. 19. 11. 5–8).

Even the king of Persia is reported to have had a hand in the murder. The evidence for Darius' involvement comes from a reported letter sent by Alexander to the Persian king. The letter was a general condemnation of Persian policy dating back to the Persian War and a personal indictment of Darius himself as the unlawful king of Persia. Alexander accuses Darius of boasting that he had financed the murder of Philip (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 14. 5; Curt. 4. 1. 12). The last might be a plausible charge at least chronologically given that Darius according to the "Royal Canon" had become king sometime after November 337 and before November 336 (Depuydt 1995: 112), and Diodorus (17. 7. 1) states that Darius came to the throne before Philip's death, but that the two events happened about the same time.²⁶ In this same letter, Darius is also credited with the murder of his predecessor Arsēs (Artaxerxes IV) (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 14. 5). Diodorus (17. 5. 3–6) places this murder and others clearly at the feet of the chiliarch Bagoas. While the letter may be authentic, the charge of complicity in the death of Philip, although just barely plausible, is unlikely.

Modern arguments for Alexander's involvement are even less plausible. According to Plutarch (*Alex.* 10. 5–6), Alexander, when informed of the outrage committed on Pausanias, recited a verse from Euripedes' *Medea* (5. 289), suggesting that recourse lay in the assassination of Attalus, Philip, and even Philip's new bride Cleopatra. Plutarch (*Alex.* 10. 7), however, concludes by casting doubt on this last report pointing out that Alexander did seek out those who were involved in the murder and saw to their deaths, and also expressing outrage with his mother for her murder of Cleopatra. Indeed, these arguments rely less on direct evidence from the sources, which hardly exists, and more on supposition. The often strained relations between the king and his heir apparent, along with Alexander's rapid and successful accession to the throne are most often cited. Ernst Badian (1963: 245–6; 1966: 42) suggests that Philip's deteriorating relations with Alexander led him to favor, increasingly, Amyntas Perdicca, the son of Philip's brother and previous king Perdiccas. In this way, argues Badian, he would be able to rid himself of Alexander and provide a guardian for the son whom Philip was expecting his new wife Cleopatra to bear (accepted by Ellis 1971: 24). The king had given Amyntas in marriage to his daughter Cynane, Philip's daughter by the Illyrian Audata (Carney 2000C: 80). Amyntas' increasing importance is possibly reflected in an inscription honoring him at Oropus as *proxenos* (Tod 1948: 186–8; Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 370–2). However, Badian's chief evidence for Philip's supposed dissatisfaction with Alexander as his heir is in actuality the best evidence that Philip had no such displeasure. In the infamous Pixodarus affair, Philip attempted to arrange a marriage between his son Arrhidaeus and the daughter of the Carian dynast Pixodarus (Plut. *Alex.* 10. 1). Pixodarus was a member of the traditional ruling dynasty of Caria and officially the satrap of Caria from 339 until his death in 335/4 (Bosworth 1980B: 152–3; Heckel 2007: 223). This would have secured a strong ally for the coming invasion. However, Alexander was convinced by his friends and his mother, that Philip "by means of a brilliant marriage . . . was trying to settle the kingdom upon Arrhidaeus," and contacted the Carian satrap himself offering to marry the young lady (Plut. *Alex.* 10, 1–3). There is much dispute about the affair; its date in relation to Philip's last marriage,²⁷ even if it happened at all (Ellis 1981: 135–6; Hatzopoulos 1982:

59–66). With respect to this doubt, Robert Develin (1981: 86–99) has presented an excellent case for the episode’s authenticity. The Pixodarus affair certainly shows a lack of trust on the part of Alexander toward his father. That Alexander could believe that Arrhidaeus would be considered for the throne is a mark of deep distrust. Arrhidaeus had from early childhood suffered from some mental deficiency (Diod. 18. 2. 2; Plut. *Mor.* 337D; Just. 13. 2. 11; 14. 5. 2; App. *Syr.* 52). While there has been some attempt to rehabilitate Arrhidaeus (Greenwalt 1984: 69–77), throughout his life he is found being led, never leading. Philip’s response to the incident is what one would expect of a good, but exasperated, father. Alexander is not exiled, but his friends are (Plut. *Alex.* 10. 1; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 5–6). Moreover, Philip proclaims that Alexander is his heir by stating that a marriage to the satrap’s daughter is not worthy of Alexander’s station (Plut. *Alex.* 10. 3). In 338, Philip commissioned statues of his parents, himself, Olympias, and Alexander to be placed in the so-called Philippeum at Olympia (Paus. 5. 20. 9–10).²⁸ Prior to entering the theater alone in Aegae and meeting his death, Philip was flanked by his new son-in-law, Alexander of Epirus, and his son Alexander (Just. 9. 6. 3). Every indication suggests that Philip was not seeking to set aside his son for another. Ian Worthington (2008: 185–6; see also Hammond 1997: 24) believes that Alexander was to be left behind as regent when Philip and the expeditionary force left for Asia. While Worthington states that it is unlikely that Philip intended “to marginalize” Alexander, he claims that this knowledge following the Pixodarus affair had “deadly consequences.” There is no clear statement concerning whether Alexander was to accompany the expedition or not, but it would appear the latter was far more likely. To leave Alexander behind with his mother and his “friends,” could be disastrous. What better way to repair the father and son relationship than to campaign together away from the personalities and jealousies of the court in Pella, and especially one particular wife and mother. Moreover, while Philip obviously knew his son’s capabilities and made use of them, he had also made certain that Alexander’s commands were buttressed by experienced commanders. At Chaeronea, Alexander had command of the left wing, but Philip placed with him “his most seasoned generals” (Diod. 16. 86. 1). When Alexander was sent to Athens in the aftermath of the Battle

of Chaeronea to confirm a treaty of peace, he was accompanied by Antipater and Alcimachus (Just. 9. 4. 5; Hyp. Frg. B 19. 2; Polyb. 5. 10. 4). Philip obviously knew of his son's abilities, but would have been wary of leaving him behind in Greece for fear, as did actually occur, that with himself and the main Macedonian army away in Asia, his young son would be tested by those who had been cowed by the father. Philip planned on taking his son to Asia and in all likelihood leaving Antipater behind as his regent. When Alexander left for Asia, he simply followed his father's plan and Antipater became his regent in Macedonia.

While Alexander did gain the throne and was the chief beneficiary of the murder, this success was hardly a foregone conclusion. Additionally, Alexander is never accused of participation in the death of his father even when in the latter stages of his campaign in Asia many of his subordinates accuse him of a great many crimes. Hermolaus prior to being led off for execution for his part in the so-called Pages conspiracy accuses Alexander of the "unjust" executions of Philotas and Parmenion, and his outright murder of Cleitus, but does not include in this listing of crimes the murder of Philip (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 14. 2. Moreover, to murder one's father was among the most heinous of crimes calling down pollution not only on the perpetrator but also on the entire community (Mikalson 1991: 168–73). Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 707–9) lists reverence for parents as the third of the laws of Justice. From any reasonable reading of the evidence, Alexander was a pious man.²⁹ He offered daily sacrifices to a host of deities (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 25. 2–6), and special sacrifices before every important action: before crossing the Danube (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 4. 5), in the midst of the Hellespont (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 6), once in Asia (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 7–8), before the Battle of Gaugamela (*FGrH* 124 F 36; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 7. 6). The king faithfully performed those religious activities associated with his homeland (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 1; 4. 8. 1–2), and honored even foreign deities. In Memphis, Alexander sacrificed to Apis (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 4) and planned temples for Alexandria "to both Greek gods and Egyptian Isis"; in Babylon to Bel, and, indeed, "carried out all sacrifices suggested to him by the Chaldaean priests" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 5). He believed in prophecy, holding in high regard Aristander of Telmissus.³⁰ For someone imbued with belief as was Alexander, such a crime as patricide would be unthinkable. Even Zeus the greatest of the Olympians shied away from such an offense, even given the greatest provocation.

While the perpetrator of Philip's assassination, Pausanias, was killed fleeing the scene, others were later charged with acting in concert with the murderer and executed. These included two aristocrats from Lyncestis, the sons of Aëropus, Arrhabaeus, and Heromenes (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 25. 1). A third son, Alexander, also involved was spared due to his quick acknowledgment of Alexander as king and his status as Antipater's son-in-law (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 25. 2; Just. 11. 2. 2; Curt. 7. 6–7).³¹ These individuals may have been members of the former royal family of Lyncestis (Badian 1963: 248), but it is more likely that their involvement like that of Pausanias was personal. Philip had exiled the brothers' father (Polyaen. 4. 2. 3). Not being Argeads themselves, it is possible they hoped through the assassination to bring Amyntas Perdicca, Philip's nephew, to power (Arr. *Succ.* 1. 22; Just. 12. 6. 14; Polyaen. 8. 60). Plutarch (*Mor.* 327C) reports that after Philip's death, "all Macedonia was festering with revolt and looking toward Amyntas and the children of Aëropus." Other evidence of any connection between the brothers and the would-be king Amyntas is even more problematic. An inscription (IG vii 3055), listing those who had consulted the Oracle of Trophonius in Lebadea, Boeotia, has as one of the consultants, "Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, King of the Macedonians." While the inscription has been associated with Amyntas II, who has an unknown patronymic and reigned briefly in 394/3 (March 1995: 275, 277, 279), it most likely does refer to Philip's nephew. Even if this is the case, the inscription is undated and even though it has been associated with 359 BC (Hatzopoulos 1986: 280), its likely date is shortly after Philip's assassination (Ellis 1971: 15–24; Anson 2009A: 276–86).

The personal nature of the crime may explain why it succeeded in killing Philip, but failed in any loftier goals. The conspirators were more concerned with revenge than with the aftermath. The death of a Macedonian king at the hands of an aristocratic assassin was not uncommon. Most Macedonian monarchs lost their lives in palace intrigues. Archelaus (Arist. *Pol.* 1311b 11–12),³² Amyntas II (Arist. *Pol.* 1311b 4),³³ Pausanias (Diod. 14. 89. 2), Alexander II (Diod. 15. 71. 1; *FGrH* 135/6 p. 739 F 11=Athen. 14. 629d), and Philip II were all killed in palace conspiracies.³⁴ In the cases of Pausanias and Alexander II, these were assassinations that led to the murderer seizing the throne. Amyntas' death was the result at least in part of a lovers' quarrel. As Elizabeth Carney (1983: 272) has commented,

“attempted regicide was common because primogeniture was insecurely established, because the king’s power was perceived as essentially personal rather than institutional, and because the Macedonian court preserved a rather explosive relationship between the monarch and young aristocrats [pederasty] which often led to violence.”

Philip’s assassination caught Alexander by surprise. His rapid achievement of the throne is a testimony to his ability to make quick decisions, not to any participation in or foreknowledge of the event. Antipater’s immediate reaction to the crime in proclaiming Alexander king was the response of a Macedonian patriot to the crisis. Of all the candidates for the throne, Alexander was clearly the most capable. Amyntas Perdicca, given the dearth of information concerning his activities other than his marriage during Philip’s reign, may have been a viable candidate for the throne, but very likely only as a figurehead for others. The lack of information regarding his career is probably the result of his lack of ambition and ability, than simply an oversight of our sources. Arrhidaeus, the half-brother of Alexander, as noted, was not viable either, except again as a prop for others. Antipater had the measure of the young Alexander. The young man at 16 had been regent of Macedonia; he led the charge that destroyed the Theban Sacred Band at Chaeronea. Antipater had cultivated his favor as the likely heir while Philip lived. There was no conspiracy here; just the reactions of two very competent and gifted leaders.

3

Alexander and deification

Alexander started life in the rarefied air of the heroic ideals of personal achievement, honor, and glory (Fredricksmeyer 1990: 304). These standards required that one “always be the best, and preeminent above all others” (*Il.* 11.783–4), especially in warfare. This moral and martial excellence was called by the Greeks *aretê*. Alexander’s favorite line supposedly came from the *Iliad* (Plut. *Mor.* 331C): “Both things is he: both a goodly king and a mighty warrior” (Hom. *Il.* 3. 179). When his father Philip suffered a thigh wound from a spear in battle with the Triballians, and complained of his lameness, Alexander is recorded as commenting, “Father, be of good cheer and go on your way rejoicing, that at each step you may recall your valor” (Plut. *Mor.* 331C). While these anecdotes are likely apocryphal, they all adhere closely to Alexander’s recorded actions, so that, if not accurate in their specifics, they are accurate in their general depiction of Alexander’s demonstrated attitudes. For Alexander, honor and recognition were penultimate goals.

Glorious fame (*doxa*), the desire to be remembered for all time for one’s achievements, was part of the myth surrounding Alexander’s exemplar Achilles. Given Achilles’ choice of an early death and immortality in the memories of succeeding generations and godlike (*isotheos*) status in his native Molossia (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1. 4), rather than a long life and future obscurity, Achilles chose the former; Alexander wanted no less. While this desire for recognition is clear and even understandable in modern times, the quest for honor is far more complicated. Joseph Roisman (2003: 279–321) has examined both the concept of honor in antiquity and its application to Alexander. These goals and his success in fulfilling them would lead Alexander over time to see himself as more than mortal. He would

come to regard himself as the son of the greatest of the Greek gods, Zeus, destined not only to join his father as a new Heracles after his death but also to be honored in life with the trappings of a god. It is unlikely that Alexander believed himself to be a god in the sense of escaping death, or being able to alter his form, or produce miracles. His status, however, was so beyond that of all others that the only appropriate way for him to be honored was as a god. This concept of being treated as a mortal god was the result of a long evolution of Alexander's self-concept and quest for honor and renown, but its origins are found in his homeland and in his upbringing.

He was the heir to the Macedonian throne whose father was a warrior king in the Macedonian monarchical pattern which corresponded closely to the Homeric model of leading his troops into battle, and again reminiscent of Homeric practice, the ruler was also the chief intermediary between the Macedonian people and their gods. By tradition, through his father Philip, he was acknowledged to be descended from Heracles, the heroic son of Zeus and eventual god himself, and through his mother Olympias, from the "godlike warrior" Achilles (Plut. *Alex.* 2. 1–2). Heracles became a symbol of the royal house, appearing on most coin issues from the fifth century forward. Alexander then was born with the honor that comes from such ancestors. Moreover, even the day of his birth, perhaps, on July 20, 356 BC (Plut. *Alex.* 3. 6), came to be associated with favorable omens. Supposedly at the time of his birth, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was destroyed in a conflagration, which the priests proclaimed indicated that one born that day would become a calamity for Asia, and the city of Potidaea fell to his father Philip. While the triumph of the successful siege was still fresh, three messages came to the victor simultaneously. It was announced that an Illyrian army had been defeated by the Macedonian general Parmenion, Philip's horse had won at Olympia, and that Olympias had borne the king a son, Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 3. 7–8). The diviners (*mantes*) proclaimed to his father Philip that a son born in the midst of such portends would always be victorious (Plut. *Alex.* 3. 9). One of Alexander's early tutors, Lysimachus, encouraged him to emulate his ancestor Achilles (Plut. *Alex.* 5. 8; 24. 10; 15. 7–8), and Alexander's imitation of Achilles was a life-long pursuit (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 4). On arriving in Asia at the beginning of his expedition of conquest, he first sacrificed at Elaeus at the tomb of Protesilaus, the first Achaean to die on the

Trojan expedition (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 5), and later at Ilium offered sacrifices to Achilles, Aias, and the other heroes (Diod. 17. 17. 3; Just. 11. 5. 12). At Ilium, he even offered sacrifice to Priam at the altar of Zeus, seeking forgiveness for his forebear Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles and Priam's murderer (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 8). As with the earlier statements attributed to Alexander, much of this history of his childhood has likely been exaggerated, but it is still very clear that much was expected of Alexander, and he expected much from himself. One driving force throughout his life was that whatever honor and glory he achieved was never sufficient. His honor had to exceed the honor of all others living and dead. One constant theme throughout the written accounts of his career is his wish not just to emulate these heroes of his ancestry, but to exceed them in glory and honor, done in what Lowell Edmunds has called "pious envy" (1971: 374). Alexander besieged Mount Aornus in what is today Pakistan on the grounds that Heracles had attempted its capture and had failed (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 28. 2, 30. 4; Curt. 8. 11. 2). His march across the Gedrosian desert and, perhaps, even his desire to conquer India were the result of his attempting to succeed where the great heroes of Asia, Cyrus and Semiramus, had failed (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 24. 3; Str. 15. 1. 5).

Alexander also possessed the desire to surpass in honor and glory his own father Philip (Fredricksmeyer 1990: 300–15). Plutarch (*Alex.* 5. 5–6) comments that Alexander "believed that the more he received from his father, the less would be left for him to achieve." Alexander's father was in many ways a man of mythical proportions. Diodorus, whose universal history is the earliest surviving account of Alexander's conquest of the Persian empire, and the source of much of our knowledge of the career of Philip, proclaimed the latter as "the greatest king of his time" (16. 95. 1). As noted in the previous chapter, he had transformed Macedonia from a virtual geographic expression, beset by invasion from the tribal north, east, and west, and faced with constant interference from the southern Greek city-states, into a nation; he had compelled most of the Greek world to join the League of Corinth under his leadership, and, in 336, he was poised to lead a Hellenic army into the Persian Empire when he was prematurely cut down by an assassin. It has been noted often that Alexander became "the Great" as a result of his father's achievements. A united Macedonia, a Greek coalition headed by the Macedonian king, Alexander's army and officer corps, were all

legacies from his father. To surpass such a man in honor and glory would be no mean task.

Adding even a greater challenge to this goal was the acknowledgment of Philip's stature in his lifetime as being more than that of a mere mortal. Many in the eastern Aegean honored Philip as their liberator from Persian suzerainty. As a preliminary to what was to be Philip's grand invasion of the Persian Empire, an advance force, sent out under the command of Parmenion in 336, managed to liberate briefly a number of Greek cities on the islands and along the Aegean coast of what is today Turkey, from Persian domination. Apparently, a number of these communities responded by offering extraordinary honors to the king who had sent the liberating army. At Eresus, on the island of Lesbos, altars to "Zeus Philippios," were established (Tod 1948: 191, ll. 5–6; Heisserer 1980: 38, l. 5; Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 408, l. 5), likely, in 336 (Lott 1996: 26–40), in recognition of Philip's aid in the overthrow of the tyranny that had previously dominated the city,¹ and a statue of Philip was also placed in the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 11; Bosworth 1980B: 133), likely in the same year. The precise meaning of these honors is much debated.² At the least, these were acknowledgments of Philip as a benefactor. In later Hellenistic and Roman imperial ruler cult, sacrifices were offered more frequently on behalf of the honoree and less frequently to that individual personally (Price 1980: 28–43). These honors may have been of this sort. However, at Ephesus in the temple of Artemis the king was honored as the *synnaos*, "temple sharer," of the goddess (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 11), but his statue is called an *eikôn* and not an *agalma*. The latter was a cult statue, an object of worship; the former, simply a representation of the individual, an honor but not necessarily an object of worship. It is interesting to note that Plutarch (*Them.* 22. 1–2) states that in the temple of Artemis the Best Counselor built by Themistocles was to be found an *eikôn* of that famous Athenian. It is unclear from the passage, however, whether this was placed there by Themistocles himself or at some later date. Plutarch does remark that it was present in his time. In later Hellenistic cases of *synnaos*, the mortal recipient of the honor did often receive sacrifice and incense (Nock 1930: 21–3). While in these two incidents involving Philip nothing is mentioned of the actual ritual, in the case of the latter, it is likely that some form of, for lack of a better term, worship was seemingly performed.

However, Peter Green (1990: 402) observes that in the Hellenistic period honors usually reserved for the gods became an extravagant recognition for the living. "Sacrifices, sacred enclosures, tombs, statues, prostration (*proskynesis*), hymns, altars, and other such divine appanages are all, as Aristotle [*Rhet.* 1361a34–6] specifically states, simply marks of honor, the gesture itself, not its recipient (whether god or man), is the important thing," that is, mortals were simply sharing 'some of the gods' divine prerogatives. Certainly, not that long after Alexander's death this was very clearly the case. It is doubtful that the elaborate honors paid to Demetrius Poliorcetes by the Athenians were given because the Athenians believed they were in the presence of a true divinity. They were obsequiously honoring a "Savior," a powerful individual who had promised them their autonomy and had freed them from the rule of a tyrant in 307 (Diod. 20. 46. 1; Plut. *Demetr.* 10. 1). Both Demetrius and his father Antigonus were honored with gold statues and proclaimed "Savior Gods," along with cult and a priest (Diod. 20. 46. 2–3; Plut. *Demetr.* 10). Later, even two of Demetrius' mistresses, Lais and Leaina, received sanctuaries, and certain of his companions (*philoi*), altars and libations (Demochares *FGrH* 75 F-1=Athen. 6. 253A). However, in Philip's and Alexander's time, most Greeks and Macedonians regarded such "marks of honor," such as altars and sacrifices, as meant for gods only. But, it is clear that such extravagancies were evolving from earlier times.

Compounding the difficulty in interpreting what was meant by the special distinctions granted to Philip and subsequently Alexander is very the nature of Greek religion. For ancient Greeks there were actually three main religious statuses: mortal, god, and hero; not always very distinct statuses, however. Heroes have with some accuracy been described as an intermediary stage between the other two: the intersection of mortal and immortal, man and god (Kearns 1989: 125). While the actual distinction mortal and divine was conceived as fixed (Badian 1996: 14–15), it was in practice quite flexible. As Elizabeth Carney (2000B: 22) has commented, "literature nagged Greeks to remember the distinction between human and divine (e.g. Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 14). They needed reminding."

Heroes were mortals who through their accomplishments were seen as being elevated in the chain of being. Most often, heroization only came after the death of the individual and such

a deity was most often seen as having only a very localized power. While the tombs of city-founders were traditionally accorded religious honors, their cult was associated with the actual tomb of the founder, unless the honoree's bones were distributed. A good example from the fifth-century BC occurs in the case of the Spartan Brasidas and the city of Amphipolis. Here, after his death he was honored "as a hero," with a public funeral, annual contests and sacrifices, and the creation of a *temenos*, that is, a sacred enclosure (Thuc. 5. 11. 1). Brasidas had fought and died in a battle ensuring Amphipolis' independence from the Athenians, who had initially colonized the city, and was regarded as the new founder of the city and also as the city's *Soter* (Savior). In these cases, heroic dead were seen as still able to affect the living. Yet, here the distinction is not clearly defined. The worlds of the living and the dead are not greatly separated in the minds of even fifth-century Greeks. Tales of heroes visiting the underworld and of those simply classed as dead affecting the living are common in the literature, from dead frustrated virgins and homicide victims seeking revenge to loving ancestors, the dead could interact with this world for good or for ill (Johnston 1999). In Greek paganism, there was a strong belief in the presence of beings whether gods, heroes, spirits of the dead, and local "deities," who had limited power over particular areas. The numbers here are impressive. When Cleisthenes (508 BC) in his constitutional restructuring of the Athenian state had created ten new tribes, he sent a list of 100 heroes to the Delphic oracle, which then selected ten from the list to give their names to the tribes and to be worshipped as "founders" (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 21. 6). The territory of the Athenian state was divided up into areas called demes, each of which had its own sanctuaries and founder deities. Families were also seen as having protective spirits associated with the home, the field, and the members of the household. A surviving calendar of the Deme Erchia from the fourth-century BC lists more than 30 deities and about as many local sanctuaries. To these would then be added family and state deities. Another feature of Greek religion that further complicates the picture is that, while this religion was conservative with few cults once established being abandoned or dramatically altered, the very nature of polytheism made possible the addition of heroes, gods, and cults, without endangering the authenticity of existing heroes, gods, and cults. Radicalism was seen in the alteration of existing religious practices, not much in the

addition of new ones. Gods received worship when they were seen as in a position to confer benefits or inflict harm on the worshiper (Mikalson 2005). Confusing the issue even more is the extravagant treatment of prominent individuals in their lifetimes. Athletes were not only often heroized in death (Currie 2005: 120–3) but also received aspects of these honors while they yet lived. Often statues were erected, hymns extravagantly extolling their “godlike” virtues, and legends developed of miraculous births and superhuman feats (Currie 2005: 151–7).

In the case of Philip what was likely being suggested by all of these seemingly religious measures late in his life was that he wished to be seen, and apparently was seen, as an individual especially dear to the gods, one who was then honored with statues and altars because the gods were seen as working through him. Did this amount to worship? The short answer is yes, but it was within the context of being the instrument of the gods, not as one himself, whose honoring would both acknowledge his power and through him the gods themselves.

Early in his reign, after the Phocians had seized the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and looted the treasury, a sacred war, the Third, had been declared against the desecrators of Apollo’s temple and Philip came to lead the forces of the coalition striving to liberate the shrine from its defilers. Prior to the crucial Battle of Crocus Field in 353, Philip had ordered his troops to crown themselves with laurel, sacred to the god Apollo, demonstrating to them and their enemies that they were the warriors of the god Apollo, which caused the Phocians to become terror stricken when thus reminded of their sacrilege by the sight of the holy emblems (Just. 8. 2. 3–6). The battle was won by the “holy” warriors and all who survived of the Phocians were cast into the sea and drowned (Diod. 16. 35. 6). Philip was subsequently elected President of the Pythian Games, the every four-year celebration of Apollo held at Delphi, and further, received the *promanteia* (Dem. 19. 327; see also 5. 14–15, 22; 19. 128, 132), the right of precedence in consulting the oracle, and the two seats previously held by the Phocians on the Amphictyonic Council, the body controlling the oracular site, were given to Philip and his heirs (Diod. 16. 60. 1–2). Justin, in his *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus*, comments, “the man who had championed the majesty of the gods deserved to be regarded as second only to the gods” (8. 2. 7).

Such sentiments apparently were held by the Macedonian king as well. After his victory at Chaeronea in 338, and his creation of the League of Corinth, which bound most of the peninsula to him as the league's *hegemon*, leader, it would appear to one and all that the Macedonian king was, indeed, clearly the favorite of the gods. It was sometime after his victory at Chaeronea that Philip had constructed the Philippeum, a round temple-like structure, at Olympia, within the sacred boundaries of the sanctuary of Zeus. This structure and its location demonstrated both his position as the favorite of the Greek king of the gods, and also the special standing of his entire Argead royal family, for the Philippeum housed at least the statues of Philip, Alexander, Eurydice, Olympias, and Philip's father Amyntas (Paus. 5. 20. 10; Carney 2000B: 25). While debate continues over the purpose and even over who was depicted in the statuary, this was not meant to be a place of worship. There were statues but apparently no altar. However, whatever other meanings it was meant to convey, it was a testament to the power and divine support of the chief Greek god Zeus, a god traditionally recognized as the source of the power to make laws and pass judgments, a power long associated with kings (Hes. *Theog.* 95–6; Hom. *Il.* 2. 100–8, 204–6; 9. 98–9).

Honoring Philip in Eresus and Ephesus was just such an acknowledgment. Other reported instances are also claimed for Amphipolis, Philippi, and even Athens (Habicht 1970: 12–13, 16; Fredricksmeyer 1979: 39–61). These instances have serious evidentiary problems, however, and not just ones of interpretation (see Badian 1981: 39–40, 67–71). In the case of the Athenians, the situation may have been a misinterpretation of the association of a statue of Philip in the sanctuary of his ancestor Heracles (Badian 1981: 71). If, as has been suggested, this statue was placed in the temple after the Battle of Chaeronea, which, for all intents and purposes, made Philip the *Hegemon* of Greece, such an action would have undoubtedly flattered Philip and made him even more conciliatory toward those he had met and defeated in battle. Further complicating any interpretation of Philip's intentions with respect to these incidents is an event occurring shortly before his assassination. The king had included a statue of himself in a procession of the 12 Olympians (Diod. 16. 92. 5, 95. 1). Ernst Badian (1963: 246–7; 1967: 41) has suggested that this association with the Olympian gods might have been suggested to Philip by the actions of the Ephesians in creating the statue of Philip in the temple of Artemis.

While this is possible, there is no such evidence, and, in fact, this knowledge may have only arisen during the reign of Alexander with whom the report is associated, and the actual significance of this event is unclear. Later, when Alexander was being criticized for actions that were interpreted as suggesting at least allusions to divinity, this event was never mentioned, nor is it brought up by any contemporaries, such as those Athenian orators who long stood as opponents to Macedonian hegemony. Since Philip's statue trailed the others, in line with the interpretation offered here for the other incidents, he was likely only indicating the gods' support for himself and his expedition against the Persian Empire. He was preparing to lead a "Hellenic" invasion of the old national Greek enemy, Persia. Philip had earlier requested and received an oracular response from Delphi, which the king interpreted as predicting his success in the coming invasion of the Persian Empire. "The bull is garlanded, he comes to an end, the one who will strike him is at hand" (Diod. 16. 91. 2). This ambiguous utterance was interpreted by Philip to mean that the Persian king (the bull) was soon to be slaughtered by the king of Macedonia. As it turned out, Philip was apparently the bull and his assassin the disgruntled Macedonian noble Pausanias (Diod. 16. 93. 2–94. 4). Diodorus' conclusion that he was "displaying himself enthroned with the twelve gods" may have been that author's own conclusion, and not what was thought at the time.³ While Badian (1966: 41) states that this action "must have caused surprise and resentment," there is no evidence that it sparked any reaction whatsoever. A claim of divinity would certainly have produced some response that would have been recorded somewhere in our sources. That it is not suggests that something else, something far more acceptable, was being proclaimed.

While in the fluid world of paganism it cannot be entirely discounted that these incidents were proclamations of divinity, it is unlikely that this is the case. Was Philip claiming or being claimed by others as one of the deathless Olympians? Here the answer is clearly no. A status akin to a living hero? Here the answer can only be a very doubtful maybe. The evidence suggests, however, much less. Protected by the gods, the favorite of the gods, the instrument of the gods, are all credible given the evidence, and not mutually exclusive. Greek myth recorded that Heracles (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 11. 7; Diod. 4. 29. 1; 5. 15. 3), Homer (Paus. 5. 26. 2; 10. 24. 2; see also Paus. 8. 24. 14; Ael. *VH* 9. 15), and Lycurgus (Hdts. 1. 65.

3), were all accorded divine status that transcended that of hero, but, this was post mortem, in the mythical past, and had required the sanction of the Delphic oracle.⁴ Heracles' future immortality by tradition had been prophesied by Delphi (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 4. 12; Diod. 4. 10. 7). What is certain is that Philip wished to be seen as having a special status vis-à-vis the gods. Diodorus refers to the statues of the 12 and to Philip's as *eidola*, images or likenesses, from which almost any interpretation of the import is possible. Perhaps, as Badian (1996: 15–16) has postulated, since the Persian king was often described as more than mortal, Philip desired to be seen as the same. If he was to challenge the “King of Kings,” he may have wished to demonstrate his equality in a religious sphere. It is more likely, however, that Philip wished to be seen in a very Greek sense as protected and supported by the gods. Proclaiming that he was in some way the equivalent of the Great King would call into question his role as Macedonian king, *Hegemon* of the Greeks, and liberator of the Greeks of Asia. At least in his propaganda Philip was attempting to present himself as the alternative to the Great King and not his equivalent.

The religious control exercised by Delphi and the other major national religious sites on the Greek mainland would be undermined first by the emergence of a number of extraordinary individuals and, after Alexander, by the broad extension of Greek culture well beyond the confines of continental Greece. During the Hellenistic age living men were frequently worshipped as heroes and even *theoi* (gods) in their lifetimes. Antiochus IV of Syria identified himself as *theos* on his coins (Mørkholm 1963: 68–74).

Indeed, one of the major issues concerning whether Philip, or later Alexander, received “worship” in their lifetimes is the scarcity of evidence for such behavior respecting living humans prior to the Hellenistic Age. In this context, it should be pointed out that prior to Philip and Alexander there were few individuals whose power might be seen as approaching that of a god in their ability to confer benefits. One commentator on the subject has described the relationship between worshipper and god as that between a good subject and a “beneficent king” (Mikalson 2005: 27). By the giving of gifts and through ceremonial actions, such as sacrifices, festivals, hymns, statues, and so on, worshippers would honor the deity, and in what was at its best a reciprocal arrangement, the deity, having the power to help them, would do so, or in a more

negative sense not interfere to harm them. Even though gods did not always respond favorably to the gifts and other honors offered by the pious, they were seen as having the power to help. Gods and powerful kings then possessed much in common, and given the terraced divide between gods, heroes, the dead in general, and living mortals, the leap to proclaimed divine kings would not appear to be that dramatic. However, the strong Greek belief in “freedom” and personal liberty would tell against such practice before the emergence of such powerful individuals directing the affairs of the Greek world. But so much of these attitudes was tied to the Greece of the city-state, the *polis*. To be a Greek was to be free. Euripides (IA 1400) proclaims that barbarians are slaves and Greeks are free. Xenophon (*Anab.* 3. 2. 13), in the early fourth century, emphasizes that Greeks bow down before no man, but only before the gods.

While the posthumous worship of those who achieved hero status at their deaths is not that uncommon, yet, it was a rare claim that such worship was accorded to the living. Prior to the reigns of Philip and Alexander such episodes are reported mostly on the periphery of the Greek mainland. Despite the noted general ease in the creation of cults, prior to the Hellenistic age few mortals outside of myth made the jump to hero status while living,⁵ and such apparent rarities do not go without challenge by modern historians (Badian 1981: 42–3; Zahrt 2000: 171–9). This is true of the claim that a temple was constructed in Pydna honoring Amyntas III, Philip II’s father (schol. Dem. *Olyn.* 1. 5; Aristid. *Or.* 38. 480; Habicht 1970: 11–12). It is debated whether this occurred at all, or, if it did, whether this was posthumous or not.⁶ The honoring of dead kings with hero cult appears to have been the case in Sparta (Cartledge 1987: 331–43), so it would not be so unusual in another state with a long-standing royal family also claiming descent from Heracles (Hammond 2000: 150–1).

A few of the claims for hero status during the lifetime of the recipient, however, do appear to be likely. “Altars were erected and sacrifice offered as to a god” to Lysander by a number of island cities, specifically Samos, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War (Plut. *Lys.* 18.3–4); Agesilaus is recorded as refusing similar honors offered by the Thasians (Plut. *Ages.* 25; *Mor.* 210D; Flowers 1988 123–34), and Dion in the middle of the fourth-century BC received “heroic honors” from the Syracusans (Diod. 16. 20. 6; Plut. *Dion*; contra: Badian 1996: 42–3). In particular, the altars associated with

Lysander do not admit for any other sort of explanation other than the ritual of worship. While rare and outside the mainland of the Greek world, the worship of living men at least in this one case was performed.

Alexander had a strong desire to be remembered by posterity as more than a mere mortal. His rivalry with his father would drive him to such a goal. This is clear from an incident in 340 BC, when Alexander, then 16 and regent for his absent father, suppressed the revolt of the Maedians, a tribal people located in modern Bulgaria, founded a city in Maedian territory, naming it Alexandropolis (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 1). This was certainly not the last of the cities founded by Alexander during his lifetime and bearing his name. According to Plutarch's exaggerated claim (*Mor.* 438E), Alexander founded as many as 70 municipalities during his conquest of the Persian Empire, and a minimum of six cities named after himself.⁷ While "founders" of cities were honored, seldom were they named after the founder, and it was even rarer that the founder was responsible for the naming (Malkin 1985: 114–30). This was another case where Alexander's rivalry with his father may be seen. Earlier, Philip had founded Philippi, 358/7, (Diod. 16. 3. 7, 8. 6), and Philippopolis, in 342, (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 38). City-founders regularly received the worship due for heroes, but this was done after their deaths. Even though certain honors were due to founders even during their lifetimes, such as monuments and buildings named for them, actual worship, the offer of sacrifices and/or libations, performance of games, singing of hymns, and so on, do not appear to be part of these honors (Nock 1972: 575–602). However, Fredricksmeyer (1990: 306) states: "We must assume, therefore, that if someone founded a city and named it after himself, he received the traditional founder's honors, that is, heroic honors, from that occasion on, that is, while he still lived." The evidence, what little there is, however, suggests otherwise. Colonies typically were sent out with founders who were honored as heroes only after their deaths, with "burial at public expense," in the "market-place in an enclosed tomb," "heroic sacrifices," "games," and "annual offerings" (Thuc. 5. 11. 1). The cult was associated with the actual tomb of the founder, which in the case of Alexander would be limited to at most one of his foundations, unless his bones were distributed. Heroes were the intersection of mortal and immortal, man and god. While mortal, their achievements were seen as transcending their mortality. At

the least what the incident makes clear is that from an early age Alexander intended to be remembered by posterity, and as part of this objective, he would emulate the actions of his father and name a city after himself.

Alexander's desire to be remembered certainly transcended city foundations. As noted earlier, he is supposed to have complained that his father's successes would leave him with nothing great to accomplish (Plut. *Alex.* 5. 4). Attempting to surpass the deeds of such a father would be daunting, but apparently not to Alexander.⁸ Moreover, according to Eratosthenes, the third-century BC geographer and head of the great Library in Alexandria, Olympias told her son that his birth was divine and that he needed to perform deeds "worthy of his birth" (Plut. *Alex.* 3. 3). Plutarch (*Alex.* 2. 4–6) relates a number of stories in which lightening strikes Olympias' womb, Philip observes her copulating with a snake, later identified as Ammon, or dreams he seals his wife's womb with the sign of the lion, but he also states that "others" state that she denied these claims (*Alex.* 3. 4). The "expedition's historian" Callisthenes is supposed to have commented that, "if Alexander was to have a share of divinity, it would not be owing to Olympias' absurd stories about his birth" (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10. 2; Plut. *Alex.* 3. 3; Just. 11. 11. 3–4). Alexander then may have seen himself with even bigger shoes to fill, than simply those of Philip.⁹

With the death of Philip in October 336 (Bosworth 1980B: 45–6), Alexander succeeded to the throne. Possible rivals and personal enemies were eliminated, and in the spring of 334, he crossed to Asia. Heaving a spear into the shore from his ship, he claimed all of Asia from the gods as "a spear-won prize" (Diod. 17. 17. 2; Just. 11. 5. 10). Here one success followed another. The Persians, having breathed a sigh of relief with the death of Philip II and the success of their counterattack against the Macedonian advance force in Asia, had sent their fleet south to crush a revolt in Egypt. The arrogation of forces for the attack on Egypt meant that the successful counterattack against Philip's and now Alexander's advance force in Asia stalled. By the time it became clear that the threat had not abated and that Alexander would soon invade, it was too late to secure the eastern shore of the Hellespont and prevent a crossing. Alexander as a direct result crossed that narrow body of water without opposition (Anson 1989: 44–9). By 331, after two major battles, on the Granicus and at Issus, and a number of sieges,

Alexander advanced to Egypt, where he was greeted as a liberator (Curt. 4. 7. 2; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 2; Diod. 17. 49. 2).

Alexander proceeded to Egypt for two reasons. The first was that this was part of the Persian Empire and an ancient land whose acquisition would only redound to his greater glory. While he had avoided other areas of the empire, many of these offered their allegiance, but none of these had the prestige of Egypt. Secondly, his current strategy of neutralizing the Persian, that is, Phoenician, fleet, by securing all its port cities meant that for the time being his pursuit of Darius was abandoned in order to secure the entire eastern seaboard of the Persian empire. With the long delay at the siege of Tyre,¹⁰ this pursuit was even less important. Egypt then became the last possible bastion for the Persian fleet, a possible point for a planned counterattack on Phoenicia, or a point for rallying opposition in Greece and the Aegean. So, Alexander is reported to have himself expressed prior to his siege of Tyre. "Nor, again, is it safe to pursue Darius leaving in our rear the city of Tyre itself . . . and Egypt and Cyprus still in Persia's hands, especially in view of the state of Greek affairs" (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 17. 1). The potential of Egypt as a haven and rally point for those in opposition had been driven home by the actions of Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, a Macedonian aristocrat who had fled to Persia soon after Alexander's accession to the throne. After the Persian defeat at Issus, he and 4,000 mercenaries had fled ultimately to Egypt (Diod. 17. 48. 2). Here, after some initial success, he and his force were annihilated by the population (Heckel 2006: 23–4).

Egypt was until its acquisition still a part of the Persian Empire. It seems clear that at least at this point Alexander's campaign was to conquer that empire. This was his intention until he arrived in India and discovered that there was a world in the East beyond the boundaries of the old rival. Moreover, acquiring the entire eastern Mediterranean coast of the Persian Empire had been Alexander's stated strategy from the time of his campaign at Miletus in 334 (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 20. 1).

Alexander had by this time shown himself to be at the least his father's equal on the battlefield and it was in Egypt that he would surpass him in personal esteem. While his father had acquired Thrace, Paenonia, Thessaly, and so on, Alexander had acquired the fabled lands of Lydia, Syria, Phoenicia, and now Egypt. Moreover, while Philip was the favorite and instrument of the gods, Alexander

would become the acknowledged son of the greatest of the Greek gods, Zeus. Joseph Roisman (2003: 321) in his chapter on the centrality of the pursuit of honor in the life of Alexander has commented that he “[strove] to erase any sense of equality between himself and others in his camp or empire.” I would add to this assessment that Alexander wished to exceed not only all living, but in time also the heroic dead, and even certain immortals.

Early in 331 BC, Alexander journeyed to the Libyan oasis of Siwah to consult the oracle of Zeus/Ammon. News had come to Alexander while in Memphis that the Persian offensive in the Aegean had collapsed (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 2. 3–7), and that Darius was far to the east gathering his army. In addition to a journey of more than 300 miles into the Libyan desert, Alexander planned during this hiatus the construction of his first Alexandria (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 5–3. 2. 2; Plut. *Alex.* 26. 3–10). The oracle of Zeus/Ammon was an offshoot of the worship of Amon-Ra in Thebes, at some subsequent time, perhaps in the sixth-century BC, a branch of the Theban cult had been established in the Libyan desert.¹¹ While in origin an Egyptian foundation, it came to be seen very early by the Greeks as an oracle of Zeus (Parke 1987: 203–37; Brunt 1976: 474–5). By the middle of the fifth century, Zeus Ammon of Siwah had already appeared in an ode of Pindar’s (*Pyth.* 4. 29; Paus. 9. 16.1), and Ammon and Zeus were equated in a long discourse by Herodotus (1. 46; 2. 32, 52–6). Certainly by the fifth century the oracle in the Libyan desert was ranked by Greeks with those at Dodona and Delphi (Parke 1967: 109–17).

Our sources report that this desire (*pothos*) to consult the oracle arose suddenly.¹² These authors list many reasons for Alexander’s wish to consult the oracle: Siwah’s noted veracity, competition with the mythical heroes and ancestors, Perseus and Heracles, who had supposedly visited the oracle, inquiry into his father Philip’s murder, questions regarding which gods should be especially honored with sacrifices, queries concerning the success of his expedition, consultation concerning the foundation of Alexandria, inquiries into his birth.¹³ Despite this myriad of reasons offered for this journey, all of which may have played some role, there was really only one that predominated, and that is the last listed. Alexander went to Siwah to inquire of this specific oracle because he wanted to be absolutely certain of the response to the question regarding his origins. He wished to be proclaimed a son of Zeus (Bloedow

2004: 95–9). It was the knowledge that his divine parentage would be verified that drew Alexander into the desert. While it is debated by scholars and unclear in the sources what questions were ultimately asked by Alexander and what responses were actually given, it is apparent that the priest of Ammon initially greeted the king as “son of Zeus,”¹⁴ and that throughout the proceedings this divine parentage was repeatedly emphasized.¹⁵ It is true, however, that the actual responses of the oracle were given to Alexander in private, but it was revealed by Callisthenes that he had been told he was the son of Zeus (Callisthenes, *FGrH* 124. F14a=Str. 17. 1. 43). The modern arguments claiming that the question concerning his divine father was never asked of the oracle may well be true.¹⁶ What would be the point of asking, if from the very greeting the oracle had confirmed the relationship with striking clarity? In a similar fashion, the Delphic oracle had labeled Alexander as “invincible” (Plut. *Alex.* 14. 6–7; Diod. 17. 93. 4).¹⁷ In any case, when Arrian (*Anab.* 3. 4. 5) reports that Alexander received “the answer his heart desired,” there can be little doubt that the answer concerned his birth.

With respect to the other purposes for the journey listed by the sources, there was nothing in them that would have singled out Siwah for special attention. While the Libyan oracle was one of the three most prominent oracular centers in the Greek world, its reputation for infallibility was certainly no greater than that of the oracles at Dodona or Delphi. Plato in his *Laws* (5. 738C) states that whatever religious practice has been sanctioned by Delphi, Dodona, or Siwah must not be altered. Nor did Siwah possess special provenance in the area of hero worship. It was not historically associated with either Macedonia or with the Macedonian royal family. Indeed, while it was regularly consulted by Spartans (Paus. 3. 18. 3), Eleans (Paus. 5. 15. 11), Athenians,¹⁸ and Thebans (Paus. 9. 16. 1); and the Aphytians (Paus. 3. 18. 3) and Spartans (Paus. 3. 18. 3; 21. 8) built local temples to the deity, there is no evidence that any Macedonian ever consulted the oracle prior to Alexander.

Pseudo-Callisthenes (1.30.5) is the only source that mentions consulting the oracle concerning the foundation of his namesake city in Egypt. This, in fact, if true, would make this the only foundation oracle attributed to Ammon (Parke 1967: 129). While such a question would certainly have been germane (Welles 1962: 281–2) and Curtius Rufus (4. 7. 5) implies that the journey was in some way fulfillment

of Egyptian custom, there was apparently no tradition that a new pharaoh visit the oasis at Siwah. In fact, there is no evidence that any pharaoh other than Alexander ever visited Siwah (Parke 1987: 194–7, 224). The claim that the founding of a city required an oracular consultation (Welles 1962: 275–6), even though such consultation was endorsed by Plato (*Leg.* 5. 738C–D), is disproved by Alexander's own actions. Alexander had already founded a city named for himself, Alexandropolis, in Thrace (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 1), and while it might be argued that Plutarch's omission of any reference to an oracular inquiry with respect to this Thracian foundation is not telling, it must be noted that Alexander founded additional cities in Asia for which no established oracle was available for such consultation. Aristander, Alexander's chief seer, among others, did, however, prophesize that the Alexandria in Egypt would be "prosperous in all things" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 2. 2; Plut. *Alex.* 26. 10), but it was the king who himself determined how many temples, honoring which gods, were to be built, and personally offered sacrifice to determine which of his choices would be acceptable (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 5).

Similarly, while Alexander did clearly query Ammon about which gods should be regularly offered sacrifice (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 19. 4), such questions were also asked of the Chaldaean priests in Babylon (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 5), and answers certainly could more easily have been sought back in Europe and, perhaps, were; either Dodona or Delphi would have proven adequate. Xenophon before joining Cyrus' expedition against the Persian king had made a similar inquiry of the Delphic oracle (Xen. *Anab.* 3. 1. 5–6; 6. 1. 22; see Cic. *Div.* 1. 54; Diog. Laert. 2. 50).

In our sources' accounts of the journey to Siwah, Alexander's rivalry with the heroes Perseus and Heracles does occupy a prominent position. Strabo, following Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124 T–I, 2, 6, 8), states that the purpose of the journey was to emulate the two heroes (Str. 17. 1. 43=*FGrH* 124 F–14). Callisthenes' account presents the entire episode in a mythic form.¹⁹ Alexander sets off in the footsteps of these great heroes, sudden rain quenches his thirst, two crows guide him when lost,²⁰ and the entire account concludes with the priest hailing Alexander as the son of Zeus. Callisthenes had proclaimed his intention of gaining for Alexander a "share of divinity" (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10. 2). Arrian (*Anab.* 3. 3. 1–2) also mentions this rivalry with mythic heroes as one cause, but unlike Callisthenes, not as the sole one. Our sources on a number

of occasions state that Alexander's actions were dictated by his desire to emulate or to surpass the achievements of other men or heroes. As seen, his siege of Aornus was carried out in part because Heracles had failed in a similar attempt (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 28. 2, 30. 4; Curt. 8. 11. 2), and Arrian (*Anab.* 6. 24. 2) states that Alexander crossed the Gedrosian desert because "no one else with an army had done so successfully." While an argument from silence, still neither Heracles', nor Perseus', journey to Siwah was represented in the surviving sources as a feat of more than human effort. In fact, no surviving source represents the details of either hero's visit. Arrian (*Anab.* 3. 3. 1) states that Perseus consulted the oracle before his encounter with Medusa; the only other surviving comments on a connection between Perseus and Siwah state that it was the oracle of Ammon that suggested Andromeda as the victim for the sea monster, from whose clutches she was saved by the hero (Ov. *Met.* 4. 671, 5. 17; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 4. 3). The link between Heracles and Siwah is put forth only by Callisthenes. Without the presence of some extraordinary circumstances, the journey to Siwah while arduous was commonplace. However, the Persian king Cambyses, according to Egyptian tradition, lost an army of 50,000 men in a sandstorm from which none returned, attempting to conquer the Ammonians (Hdts. 3. 25. 3, 26. 1–3; Plut. *Alex.* 26. 12).

Previously Alexander had shown no interest in following the itinerary of either hero. He had not prior to his arrival in Egypt attempted to duplicate the travels of Heracles. Alexander had not competed at Olympia, as had Heracles (Paus. 5. 8. 4), nor had he gone to Pylos (Apollod. 1. 9. 9; 2. 7. 2), Elis (Paus. 5. 1. 9, 10. 9; 9. 11. 6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 7. 1), Nemea,²¹ or Crete.²² Later he would attempt to exceed the accomplishments of heroes and gods, not duplicate them.

While questions concerning his father's assassination may have been asked of the desert oracle, answers to these questions certainly could more easily have been sought from the oracles at Dodona and Delphi before Alexander left Europe. This is also true regarding inquiries concerning the success of his expedition. Ammon did predict such success (Curt. 4. 7. 26; Diod. 17. 93. 4), but these assurances had already been given at Delphi, and at Gordium his undoing of the Gordian knot was hailed as a prophetic endorsement by Zeus for his campaign.²³ While Edmunds (1971: 379) argues that Alexander lacked confidence in his ability and needed the assurance

of oracles and divine signs that his expedition would be successful, the incident at Gordium required a very self-assured individual to attempt it. Here there was no oracle, but a prophetic task to perform. Alexander could have avoided it, but his "*pothos*" led him to the acropolis where the wagon and its famous knot awaited him (Arrian *Anab.* 2. 3. 1). Here was a yoke tied with an elaborate knot about which it was prophesied that whoever could undo it would rule Asia. Not succeeding in untying the knot, he either sliced through it with a sword or loosed the pin (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 3. 6–8; Curt. 3. 1. 14–18). That evening a convenient thunderstorm was taken by Alexander and his companions as a sign that the king had indeed successfully fulfilled the omen (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 3. 8). Contrary to Edmunds' assertion, Alexander apparently had few doubts about the divine acceptance for his expedition, or of his ability to carry it out. At Marathus, in a letter to Darius he proclaimed that "he possessed the country by the gift of the gods" (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 14. 7).²⁴ What is clear is that whatever the reason for Alexander's sudden desire, his "*pothos*," to visit the site of the Libyan oracle, this craving apparently only arose after his arrival in Egypt.

Indeed, there is only one question that would have been pushed to the forefront by the events of the past two campaigning years, the question of his birth.²⁵ Certainly, the proclamation of Alexander as "the son of Zeus" was the most important result of the visit to the oracle, later becoming a source of complaint on the part of the less cosmopolitan in Alexander's retinue and army.²⁶ Since Alexander sought to emulate the deeds of his Argead ancestors and, perhaps, inquired into his father "Philip's" death, he may have been at this point in time proclaiming a kind of dual paternity similar to that associated with Heracles.²⁷ In the summer of 324, Alexander was still calling Philip his father (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 9. 2).²⁸ While the desire to seek acknowledgment of his special association with Zeus arose in Egypt, it is very clear that the topic itself had not appeared recently. None of our sources points to any particular event on the campaign prior to the journey to Siwah that would suggest a recent change in Alexander's attitude toward his relationship with the gods. However, while in Ephesus, Alexander did sit for a portrait by Apelles of Cos, whose finished product depicted Alexander holding a thunderbolt (Plut. *Mor.* 335B). Alexander was obviously pleased granting Apelles a handsome reward (Plin. *NH* 35. 92). Since the timeframe for completion is unknown, all that can be said with any

certainty is that the painting was only completed after Alexander's departure from Ephesus and probably before the advance into India (Schwarzenberg 1976: 260). As a result, Alexander's pleasure may reflect later circumstances. Yet, Alexander must have had an inkling of the artist's intention. Arrian (*Anab.* 3. 3. 2; Curt. 4. 7. 8) makes it clear that Alexander went to the oasis already "referr[ing] part of his birth to Ammon" (Brunt 1976: 473; Bosworth 1980B: 271; 1977: 69–71). There is little evidence to suggest that Alexander ever repudiated Philip as his mortal father (Kraft 1971: 65). At Opis in the summer of 324, the sources present him as extolling the accomplishments "of his father Philip" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 9. 2; Curt. 10. 2. 12; Diod. 17. 109).

While Alexander's successes in Asia solidified his belief in his heroic birth, they did not create it. This then gives rise to a question. Why did Alexander not question the oracles at Dodona and Delphi regarding his parentage? The answer is a cynical one and says much about Alexander and his pursuit of fame and glory. Of the three great oracular centers the question regarding divine intervention in his birth could only be asked at Siwah with any hope of endorsement. This is true, even though Alexander, like his father before him, exercised significant influence with the oracles at Dodona and Delphi. Alexander had inherited from his father Philip two seats on the Amphictyonic Council and controlled those of Thessaly as well; also like his father he enjoyed the *promanteia*, the right of precedence at Delphi (Diod. 17. 4. 2). Alexander's standing with the oracle at Delphi was aided also by the strained relations between Delphi and much of the rest of Greece. Relations between Athens and Delphi had worsened with the conclusion of the Third Sacred War and Chaeroneia, and the Spartans had undermined their position at Delphi because of their backing of the Phocians in the Sacred War (Parke 1967: 140–2; Ellis 1976: 124, 273 n. 165). Dodona was in Epirus whose king was Alexander's uncle (Diod. 16. 72. 1; [Dem.] 7. 32). The royal house of the Molossians frequently consulted Dodona (Parke 1987: 143). However, Dodona throughout the years of Alexander's reign enjoyed a close relationship with Athens and with Demosthenes (Parke 1987: 141–3). This closeness between Dodona and Athens caused Olympias at one point to demand that the Athenians cease to "interfere" in Epirus (Hyp. *Eux.* 24). The oracles at Siwah and Dodona would be perhaps preferred by someone tied, as were

Philip and Alexander, through the myth of Temenid ancestry (Plut. *Alex.* 2. 1; Thuc. 2. 99. 3; 5. 80. 2), and by the religious traditions of Macedonia, to Zeus, a central figure in Macedonian worship with a great temple and annual festival celebrated at Dium (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 1–2; Diod. 17. 16. 3–4; Adams 2003: 205–17), yet Philip is never mentioned as having traveled to Dodona, nor is there any notice of any Macedonian prior to Alexander journeying to Siwah. Philip is, however, recorded as having consulted Apollo on at least four separate occasions; Alexander's only recorded visit to Delphi has already been described. Of Philip's consultations at least one is clearly historical. Delphi was requested to approve the treaty between Philip and the Chalcidians in 356 (Tod 1948: 158. ll 7–10).²⁹

But both Dodona and Delphi possessed much autonomy, with their own priesthoods and administrative authorities (Farnell 1977: 182–5, 196–7; Parke 1967: 64). While they could be influenced and even on occasion favorable utterances could be bought (Hdts. 5. 63. 1, 66. 1; 6. 66. 1–2, 123. 2; Paus. 3. 4. 3), their autonomy remained intact, and both would have been loath to acknowledge Alexander's special birth. Xenophon (*Mem.* 4. 3. 16) states it best with respect to the Delphic priesthood, that consultants were advised to follow in religious matters the ancient customs of their particular states. The famous Delphic maxims, “nothing too much,” “curb your spirit,” “hate hybris” (Guthrie 1950: 183–4), would weigh heavily against any endorsement of divine sonship. All three oracles were noted for their conservatism. Lysander in an attempt to gain support for his “kingship” in Sparta visited Delphi, then Dodona, and finally Siwah, in his quest for oracular endorsement, but without success (Plut. *Lys.* 25; Diod. 14. 13. 2–7). While Delphi had endorsed hero worship for famous mortals, it did so after their deaths. This was the dilemma faced by Philip and Alexander. They wanted their special connection to the gods recognized in their lifetimes. The problem for both was that such a standing did not exist in contemporary mainland Greek religious thought.

While the evidence for religious conservatism is not so clear for Dodona, indirect evidence implies that Dodona likewise would not have been receptive to any alteration in traditional religious practices or teachings. Pyrrhus, while king of Epirus (306–302, 297–272 BC), never was accorded divine status, nor was he ever proclaimed the son of a god, rather it came to be generally

acknowledged that he was ultimately descended from Zeus through Heracles' granddaughter Lanassa (Just. 17. 3. 4). While much of the post-Alexander world ultimately came to worship their rulers, it is noteworthy that neither the people of Epirus nor the people of Macedonia, even after Alexander's death, worshiped their living kings.

Therefore, the key to Siwah's selection was that neither Delphi nor Dodona would have approved the claim of a divine father, nor under normal circumstances would Ammon of Siwah. But, the desert oracle, because of Alexander's position as Egyptian pharaoh, would now be forced to do so. Any endorsement of divine sonship by a lesser oracle would not have been sufficiently authoritative; it had to come from one of the big three. With Alexander's conquest of Egypt he became pharaoh to the Egyptians. Even though he may never have been officially enthroned according to the full Egyptian rites,³⁰ and of the literary sources only Pseudo-Callisthenes (1. 34. 2) records that Alexander was so coronated, he was given every title associated with the divine nature of pharaoh. In inscriptions discovered in Luxor in Thebes, Alexander is described as "the perfect god," "Horus," "the beloved of Ammon," "lord of crowns," but most typically as the "son of Amon-Ra" or the "son of Ra."³¹ He is also in the iconography depicted as being enthroned.³² While prevailing opinion claims that pharaoh was "divine while performing the duties of kingship, and human at other times" (Malek 1997: 227), and this may very well have been the case, it is doubtful that the average Egyptian or a newly arrived Macedonian, including Alexander, would have been cognizant of this distinction. These titles were given by the priests and represent their acceptance of Alexander as pharaoh (Burstein 1991: 141). Alexander did perform certain duties associated with the office. He traveled to Memphis, where he publicly sacrificed to the Egyptian bull deity Apis and promised to restore the temples desecrated by the Persians at Luxor and Karnak. By so doing he wished to convey to the Egyptians his respect for Egyptian customs and traditions (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 4), and to place his conduct in sharp contrast to that of the Persians. Cambyses was believed to have committed numerous outrages (Hdts. 3. 29. 1–3, 37. 1–3, 64. 3; Suda s.v. "Apis"), and the memory of Artaxerxes Ochus' acts was even more damning (*FGrH* 690 F-21; Diod. 16. 51. 2; Ael *VH* 4. 8. 6; *NA* 10. 28). While these charges may be exaggerated or in some cases even false (Olmstead 1959: 89–92;

Kienitz 1953: 57–9, 108), it is clear that the Egyptians had come to believe them and had transmitted these views to the Greeks (see Hdts. 3. 16. 2, 37. 1; Diod. 10. 14. 2–3).

Alexander likely received an abbreviated version of the official coronation rites, to do otherwise would appear to be contrary to his policy of placating the Egyptians. Bernadette Menu (1998: 262) has argued that the priests persuaded Alexander to have himself formally crowned for his power to be made legitimate. It certainly would seem to be in the interest of both parties, the Macedonians and these elite Egyptians, to forge such an alliance. Moreover, at this time there was no overt hostility on the part of his troops toward Alexander's following foreign practices, as there would be later in his campaign. Such later hostility may have been reflected, however, in the omission of such an Egyptian coronation from the later record. In Babylon, there is again no firm evidence that he participated in a formal coronation ceremony, however, as in Egypt, he promised to restore temples, performed the duties associated with kingship, and worshiped local gods (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 5). Additionally, again, as in Egypt, he received the standard titles associated with kingship, "Alexander, king of the world," "Alexander, king of all countries" (Sachs and Hunger 1988: 179, 181). Moreover, an incident that took place on his return to Babylon in 323 may also indicate that Alexander was recognized by the Babylonian priests as their legitimate king. In what is likely a garbled account, Arrian (*Anab.* 7. 24. 1–3), Diodorus (17. 116. 2–4), and Plutarch (73. 3–4), all report an incident in which Alexander's throne and diadem are respectively occupied and worn by a stranger. While this omen is reported to be spontaneous and very troubling by the various Greek seers accompanying the king, it is likely that given the initial evil omens regarding Alexander proclaimed by the Babylonian priests (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 16. 5–7; Diod. 17. 112. 2–4; Plut. *Alex.* 73. 1), this episode was in truth a standard ceremony to save the king from harm. In this ritual, the legitimate ruler would abandon the throne for a surrogate who would then be put to death thus fulfilling the prophecies (Sherwin-White 1987: 9). With no serious complaints from his Macedonians, in 332 and 331, Alexander would not have been so adverse to such coronation ceremonies by foreign peoples.

Returning to the expedition to Siwah, in any translation into Greek of the initial Egyptian greetings or ceremonials, Ammon or

Zeus would have been used for Amon-Ra or Ra. As noted earlier, in the Greek world this identification was commonplace. These salutations of the priest, when translated, must have appeared to Alexander as a thunderbolt; the prophetic confirmation of what he had long believed. Events in Egypt meant that Alexander could now be certain of the endorsement by a major "Greek" oracle for his special status. The very nature of the oracle at Siwah made this affirmation a certainty. The oracle was both Egyptian and Greek. As an Egyptian oracle it had to acknowledge Alexander, the pharaoh, as at the very least "Son of Ammon," regardless of any Greek sensibilities possessed by the oracular authorities. Plutarch's (*Alex.* 27. 9) tale of the priest's confusion with respect to his Greek, attempting to say "my son" (*O paidion*), but instead saying "son of Zeus" (*O pai Dios*), is then nonsense. This was an oracle frequently visited by many Greeks. The priest had simply acknowledged Alexander as pharaoh. That Ammon had never apparently acknowledged any other Greek as a god or the child of a deity is immaterial. There had never been a previous Greek who was pharaoh of Egypt. Justin (11. 11. 6) even suggests collusion between Alexander and the Siwah priests, stating that Alexander sent men ahead to bribe the priests to give him the responses he wished. Given the status of the oracle and the circumstances such actions were not necessary.

In actuality it was not, therefore, the oracle at Siwah that set in motion the chain of events, which would eventually find Alexander in 324 requesting honors associated with the worship of gods (as Wilcken 1928: 576–603; 1930: 159–76; 1967: 126–7), but rather the priests in Memphis, or, perhaps, in Thebes. It is even possible that there may have been present priests from Siwah itself. While it is nowhere stated, it is certainly credible that, as the new pharaoh, Alexander was greeted by representatives of the oracle prior to his march to the oasis. The priests were in the habit of making regular visits to Egypt (*Arr. Anab.* 3. 4. 3). Since they often brought pure salt to the ruler of Egypt, it would be natural for them to bring this prized gift to the new pharaoh. Ambassadors from the more distant city of Cyrene met Alexander with presents either prior to his start into Libya (*Curt.* 4. 7. 9), or midway on his journey (*Diod.* 17. 49. 2). Alexander's entrance into Egypt was prearranged. No resistance was offered. The Persian governor had decided to surrender his satrapy probably sometime after the fall of Tyre; Alexander's fleet

anchored at Pelusium without incident before his arrival in Egypt (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 1).

In any meeting with representatives of the oracle, or even with their counterparts in Memphis or Thebes, it would have become clear to Alexander that he could expect confirmation of his divine birth by the Libyan oracle. He had become at the very least the son of Ammon already to the priests and people of Egypt. After his return from Siwah oracular responses from Didyma and Erythrae were awaiting him in Memphis, announcing that Zeus was his father (Str. 17. 1. 43). The oracle of Apollo in Didyma had reportedly not spoken since the time of Xerxes, but now began to speak again. While Callisthenes' account makes it appear that the revival of the oracle along with its pronouncements was spontaneous, it is certainly possible that this newly active oracle and also the prophetess at Erythrae were encouraged to issue their revelations concerning the king. The oracles were brought to Alexander in Memphis. It is unclear in the passage in Strabo, taken from Callisthenes, whether the ambassadors from Didyma and Erythrae met Alexander in Memphis before or after his journey to Siwah. However, the reference is placed in Strabo's account after a complete rendering of Alexander's journey to the oasis in the Libyan desert. Apparently, none were announced while Alexander was in Asia Minor. Alexander is not recorded as journeying to Erythrae, nor to Didyma, on his way ultimately to Egypt. It certainly is doubtful that they would have waited two years to reply to his inquiries. The king's agents were likely sent after his arrival in Egypt and his consultation with the priests in Memphis and/or Thebes, to both oracles requesting responses regarding Alexander's birth. The journey by ship from Egypt to the oracular sites and back again would not have taken more than a couple of months.³³ If, as is generally assumed, Alexander entered Egypt in November or December and journeyed to Siwah in February,³⁴ ambassadors to the two oracles in Asia Minor could easily have completed the round-trip journey in time to meet Alexander on his return from the desert.

While Alexander's failure to put this question to either Dodona or Delphi and only at Siwah might be seen as not only devious but also impious, "shopping around" for a favorable oracular response was not an uncommon practice, nor was it seen as irreverent. Certainly, apart from bribery that was condemned (see Pl. *Alc.* 2.

150a), such behavior was not censured. As with Lysander's shopping for a favorable endorsement of his becoming king of Sparta, again in a Spartan context, an analogous situation developed with King Agesipolis's quest during the Corinthian War (395–387) to by-pass the Argive ruse of the "holy months" (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 2). The Argives through the use of calendar manipulation always had a religious festival going on when the Spartans threatened to invade, and by proclaiming a sacred truce thus avoided invasion. Agesipolis wished to obtain religious sanction for violating these so-called truces. He went initially to the oracle of Zeus at Olympia. Even though this oracle had primarily become a sports prognosticator, Elis was under Spartan domination and vulnerable to Spartan influence (Parke 1967: 112; see Parke 1987: 186–92). After receiving a favorable response from Olympia, Agesipolis next asked the Delphic oracle if Apollo "held the same opinion as his father Zeus," and Apollo answered that he did (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 2).

Alexander from any reasonable reading of the evidence was a pious man.³⁵ He offered daily sacrifices to a host of deities (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 25. 2–6) and special sacrifices before every important action: Before crossing the Danube (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 4. 5), in the midst of the Hellespont (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 6), and before the battle of Gaugamela (FGrH 124 F 36; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 7. 6). Moreover, he faithfully performed those religious activities associated with his homeland (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 1; 4. 8. 1–2), and honored even foreign deities. With respect to the last, Alexander sacrificed to Apis in Memphis and planned temples for his new city of Alexandria "to both Greek and Egyptian gods" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 4); in Babylon to "Bel," and, indeed, "carried out all sacrifices suggested to him by the Chaldaean priests" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 5). He believed in prophecy, holding in high regard Aristander of Telmissus, who with other seers had accompanied Alexander to Asia.³⁶ But, Alexander also, on occasion, interpreted omens himself (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 18. 9), and was not above attempting to circumvent what could be taken as an omen. Prior to the battle on the Granicus, when reminded that during the Macedonian month Daesius the king was not to take an army into the field, Alexander simply proclaimed that the current month was a second Artemisius (Plut. *Alex.* 16. 2). Nor was the king above attempting to influence or rewrite prophecies. The episode at Gordium is a case in point. Alexander on occasion also ignored ill omens. At Gaza, even though Aristander had prophesied that the

city would be taken, but that Alexander must be especially careful, the king after initial hesitation had rushed into battle and had been wounded (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 26. 4–27. 2). On the Tanais, Alexander, after Aristander had reported unfavorable sacrifices, unsuccessfully pressured him to give a more favorable reading (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 4. 3). Then, despite these prophetic warnings he had crossed the river and attacked the Scythians anyway. While he was victorious, the king did contract a serious illness, and thus again, in the mind of our source, demonstrated the validity of Aristander's reading (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 4. 9).

Alexander buoyed by his victories and his reception by the Egyptian priests was now prepared to have his "special" status as the "son of Zeus" recognized in a Greek context; emissaries were sent to the oracles at Didyma and Erythrae requesting answers to the same question Alexander set out to ask Zeus Ammon at Siwah. No doubt strong intimations of the desired response were also sent. The result from all three was certainly what "Alexander's heart desired." Bosworth (1988: 282) believes that Didyma and Erythrae heard of "Alexander's claims" before he left for Siwah and, in consequence, issued their oracles "spontaneously."

The results of Alexander's visit to Siwah may have gone well beyond his desire to be recognized as the son of Ammon/Zeus. Badian (1981: 66) states, "Among the mysteries communicated to Alexander by his divine 'father' at Siwah there must have been an explicit promise that (at whatever time and in whatever form) he would become a god in his lifetime." This assumption would explain a number of Alexander's later actions. In the summer of 327, almost four years after his great victory at Gaugamela confirming his conquest of the Persian Empire³⁷ and his occupation of the Persian heartland, Alexander attempted to introduce into his court ceremony *proskynesis* (Arr. 4. 9. 9, 10. 5–12. 6; Curt. 8. 5. 5–24; Plut. *Alex.* 54. 2–6), a form of submission, which could involve a bowing or full prostration (Hdts. 1. 134. 1; Frye 1972: 102–7). This incident came at the end of the long and costly Sogdian–Bactrian campaign. In 329, when Alexander first crossed the Hindu Kush into Bactria, he encountered little resistance. Bessus, the Bactrian satrap who had murdered Darius III and assumed his crown, had been unable to unite the Bactrian nobility behind his authority. The Bactrian cavalry abandoned him as Alexander approached, and Alexander was able to enter the

satrapal capital, Bactra, without striking a blow (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 28. 8–29. 7; Curt. 7. 4. 20–2, 32–40, 5. 1–18), with Bessus being surrendered to Alexander by his former supporters (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 30. 3–5; Curt. 7. 5. 19–26). Alexander now left what he assumed was a pacified province and proceeded onto India. Within weeks of Bessus' capture a revolt erupted, which took almost two years of brutal repression to suppress.

During this time, perhaps, as a sign of fraying nerves, Alexander in a drunken rage killed Cleitus, "The Black" (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 1–9; Curt. 8. 1. 20–52; Plut. *Alex.* 50–2; Just. 12. 6. 1–18), a long-time companion and commander for both the king and his father Philip, and the current satrap of Bactria (Curt. 8. 1. 19). Our sources present different scenarios for the murder, but Arrian reports that it followed a heated discussion that turned in part on the conferring of "honors" on "living men" (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 3). The implication is clear. The honors under discussion were those due to a hero. During this discussion, Alexander was compared to the Dioscuri and to Heracles and in both cases was found to be superior (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 3). Heracles and Castor were both mortals who achieved divine status. Cleitus complained of the hubris shown in comparing Alexander to the gods and demeaning the heroes (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 4).

This same theme is central to the entire discussion in the sources surrounding Alexander's attempt to introduce *proskynesis* into the court ceremony. While much in these sources appears as later contrived rhetoric, the content is clear and it involves heroization and honors ordinarily given only to gods (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10. 6, 11. 2–3; Curt. 8. 5. 5). While mopping-up operations were still in progress, Alexander, in the capital city of the satrapy of Bactria, and assembling his army for the coming invasion of India, attempted to introduce the practice into his court ceremony. Arrian describes two accounts regarding Alexander and *proskynesis*. In the first (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10. 5–12. 1; Curt. 8. 5. 5–21), Alexander arranges with "sophists" and important "Persians and Medes" to introduce the practice during a symposium (*potos*). In the discussion, it is noted that it would be more just to recognize Alexander during his lifetime as a god (*theos*) because of his achievements being greater than those of Heracles or Dionysus (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10. 6). After this presentation, Callisthenes declared that "Alexander was unworthy of no honor appropriate for a man," but not the honors

appropriate for gods, which in his mind would include *proskynesis* (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 10. 3).

The attitude of Alexander's Macedonians toward *proskynesis* is made clear in their response to Callisthenes' protest against the practice. When Callisthenes' comments found favor with the Macedonians present, Alexander sent word that the practice would be abandoned (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 12. 1). In the second account, "the following story has also been recorded" (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 12. 3–5; Plut. *Alex.* 54. 4–6), the scene is again a symposium, but here Alexander sends around a bowl filled with wine to those involved in the scheme who drink from it, did *proskynesis*, and then received a kiss from the king. In this account, Callisthenes drank from the cup, but did not perform the act of *proskynesis* and as a result did not receive the kiss. Plutarch adds a variant stating that the *proskynesis* was performed before an altar (*estia*), and not before Alexander directly. In both versions the bowl is described as a *phialê*, a type of vessel often associated with libations. In this version, an attempt is obviously being made to associate the act of prostration with the personal touch associated with the traditional relationship of king and companion. The compromise was not accepted, and, also in this version as well, ultimately abandoned.

As has been pointed out repeatedly by scholars, prostration did not mean worship, at least in the Greek sense of the word, to the Persians, but it was regarded at the least as servile and worthy only of a "barbarian" (Bosworth 1988: 284). Badian (1996: 22) argues that neither Persians nor Greeks saw *proskynesis* as an act of worship. However, even if not perceived as worship, a supposition called into question by the arguments associated with Callisthenes in opposition to the practice, for Macedonians, men brought up to see their ruler as both king and companion, it was demeaning. Even Persian attire was generally considered an outward sign of tyranny. Since Alexander had to have known what the reaction might be, his wish to institute the practice must have been a serious one. For Badian (1996: 15–16), certainly Alexander wanted to be recognized as "godlike" (*isotheos*). Fredricksmeyer (2003: 274–5) recognizes the religious implications, but claims that Alexander's immediate goal was the "coordination of court ceremony." This is similar to Plutarch's assertion (*Mor.* 330D). This claim is recognized by Badian but only as a subsidiary purpose, which G. L. Cawkwell (1994: 264) describes it as a "palatable" explanation, but calls the entire incident

into question, and G. P. V. D. Balsdon (1950: 376) sees it as entirely explanatory. He (1950: 372, 379) regards the first incident as purely fictional, but he accepts the second, which he associates with the history written by Alexander's chamberlain, Chares, as historical. Bosworth (1988: 285–6) combines the two episodes proclaiming the first was a “private prelude” and the second, “the public ceremony of inauguration,” with rhetorical flourishes. While this is possible, it is more likely that these are two different accounts of the same incident. Arrian, who had access to the full accounts he is reporting, clearly saw them as implying something more than politics and uniform court ceremony. “The fact is that the report prevails that Alexander desired people actually to do him obeisance, from the underlying idea that his father was Ammon and not Philip . . .” (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 9. 9). Arrian downplays the religious implications of Alexander's actions here and elsewhere. This attitude likely is a reflection of that of his principal sources Ptolemy and Aristobulus, both of whom apparently ignored this incident, engaging in what Peter Brunt has referred to as “deceptive reticence” (1976: 473, 477–80). Arrian's closing comments on Alexander reflect this attitude.

If [Alexander] was led on to adopt barbarian practices involving too much pretension, I do not personally regard it as important; only consider in charity his youth, his unbroken good fortune, and the fact that it is men that seek to please and not to act for the best who are and will be the associates of kings, exercising an evil influence. (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 29. 1, trans. P. A. Brunt)

The importance of *proskynesis* is what it meant to the Macedonians and the Greeks. “Perception is reality” is an expression unfortunately much voiced and too often reflecting popular truth. Whatever the truth of the recorded discussion, Arrian's and Curtius' sources are united that this was an attempt to institute worship. While Herodotus understood the act's true significance in the Persian context, other Greeks either did not understand the nature of the act, or regarded it as an action suitable only for the gods. Isocrates, for example, charged the Persians with “practicing *proskynesis* before a mortal man, addressing him as a divinity” (4. 150–1); and even the knowledgeable Xenophon (*Anab.* 3. 2. 13) observed that Greeks bow down to no man, but only before the gods. While Macedonians and Greeks on Alexander's expedition must have seen Persians

practicing *proskynesis* to their social superiors, all performed the ceremonial before the king, and Alexander was not a mere social superior, he was the king. The difference between “godlike” and “god” was probably lost on the average Greek or Macedonian. Calling an athlete godlike is hyperbole; doing *proskynesis* before a man, albeit a king, is something quite otherwise. This also explains Callisthenes’ opposition when he had earlier been a propagandist for Alexander being the son of Zeus. *Proskynesis* would for a Greek involve actual participation in worship (Bosworth 1988: 286), regardless of what Persians may have believed.

Alexander knew what he was attempting. How could he not? Isocrates (*L.* 2. 3. 5) in a letter to Philip had stated, likely as hyperbole, that, if Philip conquered the Persian Empire, “there will be nothing left for [him] but to become a god (*theos*).” Whatever might have been Isocrates’ intent when he made this statement, there were likely many in the Greek world who believed the sentiment with respect to Alexander, whether they knew of Isocrates’ comment or not. Alexander had achieved beyond the dreams of any living man, beyond the achievement of any mythical hero, even beyond the achievements of some immortal gods. He was thereby worthy of the honors given to a god.

Proskynesis, however, was opposed for many reasons by his Macedonians. It is to be emphasized that during the Hellenistic period when many rulers were given formal worship, this was never practiced in Macedonia. Even Alexander’s chosen regent for Macedonia, Antipater, did not permit the worship of his king, judging it to be impious (*Suda*, s.v. “Antipater”). This was a Persian ceremony and the Macedonians were increasingly upset with what they saw as the Persianization of the court (Baynham 1994: 41). Moreover, Macedonian kingship had been based on the “*betairos*” relationship, which Alexander’s father Philip had extended to the infantry in his creation of the *pezhetairoi* (Anson 2008B: 18–23). The idea of the king as ruler yet companion did not countenance prostration. Traditionally the king of Macedonia was convivial, hunting and banqueting with the *betairoi*. There was apparently no formal court ceremony and the evidence suggests that any of the king’s subjects could approach and address him. Alexander had already changed this informality. By 330, audiences had become elaborate affairs for his subjects (Bosworth 1980A: 4–6). The Macedonians saw themselves as having the right to have their

grievances heard (Adams 1986: 32–52). There were then traditional privileges enjoyed by the Macedonians in their relations with their kings. As noted in this chapter, Philip had in many ways created a Macedonian nation by emphasizing his connection to the common people, hailing his foot soldiers as companions. Alexander was moving far from Macedonia and its traditions not just in terms of miles but also in terms of culture and politics. Traditional Macedonia had no elaborate bureaucracy or officious court ceremony; access to the king was both possible and expected. Philip had either created or increased substantially the royal chancellery, likely following Persian practice, but Alexander had moved markedly in favor of Persian practice and procedures. Yet, of all the oriental innovations attempted by Alexander *proskynesis* was the only one that was halted, although there is evidence that the topic continued to be raised (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 14. 2). As with Ammon, the attempt to introduce *proskynesis* was connected to Alexander's growing image of himself. The culmination of this evolution from the invincible agent of the gods, to being the son of Zeus, would come in the last year of his life, when he would demand to receive the honors given to a god.

While Alexander's desire to be honored as a god was known and debated in the Greek world likely since the king's return from India, as Bosworth states (1988: 288), the "catalyst" for the final stage of Alexander's transformation from Macedonian king to godlike ruler was the death of his lifelong companion Hephaestion (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 1; Plut. *Alex.* 72. 2; Diod. 17. 110. 7–8; Just. 12. 12. 11). Alexander first questioned Ammon whether his former companion should receive the sacrifices worthy of a god, but the oracle said only those suitable for a hero (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 7, 23. 6; Plut. *Alex.* 72. 1–3). The funeral was to be magnificent (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 8, 10; Diod. 17. 114. 4, 115. 1), and the worship extravagant, with sacred precincts, offerings, festivals, and temples (Lucian *Cal.* 17).

Diodorus (17. 115. 6) states that Hephaestion was to be worshipped as "*theos paredros*." Something similar is found in the Lucian passage (*Cal.* 17), the second-century AD rhetorician, stating that he was to be sacrificed to as "*theos paredros kai alexikakos*." These phrases can best be translated as "associate god" and "associate and protector god." The phrase "associate god" can be taken to mean a *synnaos*, a temple sharer. The obvious sharer would be Alexander. This was not an infrequent occurrence in

which the “hero” shared the precinct with the god, forming a sort of partnership, and, on occasion sharing in the sacrifice (Nock 1930: 44). Habicht (1956: 31) initially argued that this was evidence that the worship of Hephæstion as hero was to be associated with that of Alexander as god. In his 1970 edition (249–50), however, he retracted this view, stating that it was not clear which god might be implied. Bosworth (1988: 288) accepts the coordination of the cults, arguing, “It is neither impossible nor improbable that when Alexander sent formal letters requesting (or demanding) a hero cult for Hephæstion he also suggested that recognition of his own divinity would be welcome and appropriate.”

It is possible that such recognition had already taken place in various of the Greek cities. While most of the evidence for the existence of these cults can only be securely dated to the period after Alexander’s death, there is one surviving inscription which might suggest that certain of these cults may have arisen during Alexander’s lifetime. In 1958, F. Saviat (239–44) published an inscription from the agora of Thasos, which he dated to the last quarter of the fourth-century BC, listing a festival celebrating the “twelve gods” followed by one celebrating Alexander. Yet, this inscription may date from just after Alexander’s death. The Athenian orator Hypereides offers additional circumstantial evidence for such cult for the living Conqueror, when in his *Funeral Speech* (6. 21), offered for those who died with Leosthenes in the Lamian War, he states: “The practices which even now we were compelled (*ênagkaxometha* [emended]) to do are proof enough: sacrifices being made to men; images, altars, and temples carefully perfected in their honor, while those of the gods are neglected, and we ourselves are forced to honor as heroes the servants of these people.” Given that Hypereides’ reference to “honoring the servant” must surely refer to Hephæstion, then, since the worship of Hephæstion was initiated before Alexander’s death (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 1, 7; Diod. 17. 115. 6) and clearly associated by Diodorus and Lucian with that of Alexander, Hypereides is referring to an existing cult and one established in Alexander’s lifetime. Cawkwell, however, rejects the change of *anagkaxometha* (we are compelled) for *ênagkaxometha* (we were compelled). The original verb would make the meaning that the defeat in the Lamian War was bringing on these impieties, and, consequently, while others were worshipping the Macedonian king prior to his death, the Athenians were not

(2003: 297–8). Perhaps, in the year before Alexander's death, Demades had made the proposal to add Alexander to the "Twelve Gods," for which he was heavily fined (Athen. 6. 251B, Ael. *VH* 5. 12;). Confusing the chronology is the attitude of Demosthenes, who is reported, perhaps in reference to the Demades' incident, to have made a proposal "forbidding anyone to believe in any but the accepted gods" (Din. 1. 94; Polyb. 12. 12b. 3), but subsequently "proclaiming that the people must not question the grant of divine honors to Alexander" (Din. 1. 94).

The change in heart likely came as the result of Alexander's Exiles Decree issued in 324, which ordered all Greek exiles with certain notable exceptions to be accepted back in their home cities (Diod. 17. 109. 1; 18. 8. 2; Curt. 10. 2. 4–7; Just. 13. 5. 2–5). Only those guilty of sacrilege and murder were to be excluded (Diod. 17. 109. 1), or those expressly exiled by Alexander's or Antipater's commands (Diod. 18. 8. 4). This was of great concern to the Athenians who had expelled the Samians from their island and replaced them with Athenian settlers. To obey the decree would mean to give up the island (Diod. 18. 8. 7). Demades is reported to have said after the failure of his initial proposal, "see that in keeping heaven safe you do not lose your land" (Val. Max. 7. 2. 13). The turnaround may have been the direct result of the issuance of the decree. In essence to the Athenians Alexander had upped the ante, though it is doubtful that this was the king's intent. It was now in the Athenian interest to placate the Macedonian king in hopes that he would make the Samians one of his exceptions from the general force of the decree. While the references from Hypereides and Dinarchus are brief and open to interpretation, both are contemporaneous Athenian orators. The other reports concerning plans to deify Alexander are all late and very anecdotal, but bear out these contemporary sources. Plutarch (*Mor.* 219E; see also Ael. *VH* 2. 19) reports that Damis, an otherwise unknown Spartan (Heckel 2007: 102), received letters from Alexander requesting deification, and that the Athenian Lycurgus proclaimed that "worshippers of the new god would have to purify themselves after every act of worship" (Plut. *Mor.* 842D). Finally, Arrian (*Anab.* 7. 23. 2; Diod. 17. 113) reports that embassies came from Greece after Alexander's arrival in Babylon in 323, with "crowned ambassadors," who then "crowned the king with golden crowns," "as if they came in very truth on a sacred embassy to honor a god." While, as Bosworth

(1988: 287) observes, there is no evidence of actual worship, but their attitude was particularly “reverential.”

The evidence suggests that the Greek cities were asked to worship Alexander, rather than that they did so as a way of ingratiating themselves to him. This request, given the lack of any inscriptional evidence of a formal decree, was likely strongly intimated by Alexander’s agents when the demand for hero worship for Hephæstion was brought forward. Those Greek cities in Asia Minor may have already initiated his worship (Badian 1996: 24), but there is no evidence that can place the origin of such cults found later to a time before Alexander’s death. Complicating the problem is that Arrian, Curtius, and Diodorus seemingly have large gaps in their texts at the relevant points, so our information comes from these other sources: Hypereides, Dinarchus, Plutarch, Aelian, and Ephippus. The last, Ephippus of Olynthus, in his *On the Deaths of Alexander and Hephæstion*, describes Alexander as appearing at banquets dressed as Ammon, Hermes, and Artemis (FGrH 126 F-5). While appearing as Ammon or Hermes would be unusual, what ultimately calls the entire account into question is the mentioning of Artemis. Nowhere else is Alexander associated with the goddess or with any other female divinity. From the surviving fragments it is clear that this was a work hostile to the memory of the Conqueror and should be discounted.

The weaknesses in the argument that Alexander desired the honors associated with divinity are well presented by Cawkwell (1994: 293–306). None of our major surviving narratives of Alexander provide direct evidence of Alexander either ordering the cities of Greece, individually or collectively, directly or indirectly, to worship him, or that he was, without urging, receiving such worship from them. While there are gaps in Arrian, Curtius, and Diodorus, and Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander* regarding Alexander’s activities in this last year truncates them in favor of describing the events surrounding his death. Yet, the biographer does make references to Alexander’s divinity, stating that “Alexander . . . was not foolishly affected or deluded by the belief in his divinity (*doxa theiotâtos*), but used it for the subjugation of others” (Plut. *Alex.* 28. 3). Arrian (*Anab.* 7. 20. 1), quoting a story (*logos*), therefore, not something he has found in either Ptolemy or Aristobulus, his proclaimed main sources, relates that Alexander believed his accomplishments worthy of those of the god Dionysus. At Nysa, Alexander came to believe that he had reached the furthest penetration into India of the god,

and that he would go further, exceeding Dionysus' accomplishment (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 2. 1).

Unfortunately, Arrian does not mention anything about formal deification in his summary of Alexander's career (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 29–30), only acknowledging that he did proclaim himself the son of Ammon, "his referring his birth to a god" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 29. 3). Would Ptolemy's and Aristobulus' suppression of negative information concerning Alexander have gone this far? Would Arrian, with access to many other sources have been so complicit in its suppression? This is the weakest part of any argument concerning whether or not Alexander requested divine honors. But, if Alexander did not solicit it directly, it could be seen as actions not under his control, and, consequently, unsolicited. The solution, then, may be that our sources in the modern sense "spun" the truth. Alexander did not request or even desire such actions, it was again those obsequious flatterers' "evil influence" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 29. 1), this time not just at his court but in the Greek heartland itself, who attempted to corrupt the king with these offers of worship. Arrian and likely his main sources would then believe themselves correct to suppress such lies. His attitude toward the whole issue of Alexander as more than an extraordinary mortal is clear. During the author's life in the second century, the Roman emperor was only to be deified after his death (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 74). The great exception to this practice was the mad emperor Caligula. Moreover, while the Successors were often deified by the populations of various cities, the actual establishment of royal cult for a living king was not initiated until this first generation had passed away; in the case of the Seleucids, not until the reign of Antiochus III (222–187) (Chaniotis 2003: 436–7), and while Ptolemy I was deified, it was after his death in 283. Since Alexander's Successors claimed that their rule came from their association with Alexander, it was in their interest to describe him in terms that would appear praiseworthy especially to their Greek and Macedonian contemporaries. Arrian even describes the claim of sonship with Ammon as a mistake on Alexander's part, which he tries to soften by insinuating that it might have been an "expedient to make him impressive to his subjects" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 29. 3; Plut. *Alex.* 28. 3).

The evidence, sparse and unreliable as it is, still does suggest that Alexander likely through surrogates did request that cult be initiated for him, and it was the worship suitable for a god. An incident late

in his life bolsters this belief. According to Aristobulus (Str. 16.1.11; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 20. 1), Alexander attacked the Arabs in part because he had learned that they only worshipped two gods and he believed that they would worship him as a third, if he conquered them and then restored their independence. Here, as with respect to Ammon, Alexander wanted his special status recognized spontaneously, not ordered and enforced. This may be behind his abandonment of proskynesis with respect to his Macedonians. Our sources say that it was discussed and Alexander approved of the attempt to begin the practice, but it was to appear as if the initiation by his courtiers was on their own accord. He did not summon the Macedonians and order them to prostrate themselves before him.

The only remaining question is why he pursued such a policy. It was claimed in the past that Alexander wished to become a god so that his decree ordering all cities to receive back their exiles would be honored. According to this argument, Alexander needed to be proclaimed a god to overcome the legal difficulties in promulgating such an order. At this point in time, it is very clear that Alexander did not believe that he needed any kind of special authority to order the Greeks to do his bidding. While it has been claimed that his action here was in some way authorized under the auspices of the League of Corinth, there is no such evidence (see Heisserer 1980: 226–9). Nor is there any association of the Exiles' decree in our sources with demands for deification (as Tarn 1950: 370–1; contra: Balsdon 1950: 384). Tarn's argument that Alexander became a god to ensure the enforcement of the decree can more easily be turned on its head. The support for his deification might have been strengthened by his order to return the exiles. Perhaps, as noted earlier, the Athenian endorsement came in an attempt to exclude the Samians from the decree. However, in the past, grateful former exiles had offered elaborate honors to their benefactors. As seen, this was true in the cases of Lysander and the Samians and Alexander's father Philip at Eresus and Ephesus.

Today, even though as Cawkwell (1994: 294) notes that there is no evidence in the surviving historical narratives that Alexander demanded of the Greeks singularly or collectively that they worship him as a god, it is most often postulated that he did so, convinced that he really was a god (Hammond and Walbank 1988: 82; Bosworth 1988: 288–9). In the final analysis, Alexander's pursuit of honor and glory simply knew no bounds. He was judged invincible but his

drive for more and more honor was the obsession that controlled his life. His failure to conquer India, although the cause was laid at the feet of his reluctant army, still was a blow to the invincible conqueror. Even though the rebellion in Bactria and Sogdiana was suppressed, it still was a stain on his supposed invincible army, and by association their overall commander, Alexander. While he planned more conquests in the West, his desire for honor led him inexorably to demand the honors due a divinity; a down payment on what he knew would be his after death. In the slightly altered words of Isocrates, for Alexander what honor was left but that offered to a god.

4

Alexander and the administration of an empire

Part of understanding Alexander's success in conquering such a vast empire is to realize that Alexander's ultimate goal was personal glory; all else was secondary. To put it simply Alexander was about conquest for conquest's sake. He was not out to change the world, he was out to conquer it. He planned to acquire India until his army said enough and refused to go on.¹ After his return to Babylon he began preparations for new conquests in the West all the way to the Pillars of Heracles (Diod. 18. 4. 2–4). Arrian's own personal assessment of the Macedonian king is that "Alexander had no small or mean conceptions, nor would ever have remained contented with any of his possessions so far, not even if he had added Europe to Asia, and the Britannic islands to Europe; but would always have searched far beyond for something unknown, being always the rival if of no other, yet of himself" (*Anab.* 7. 1. 4). While this comment likely is Arrian's own personal evaluation, it was based on his reading of those sources that are no longer available to us, and is likely close to the truth.

Alexander also was not a Macedonian nationalist, as shown by his virtual abandonment of his homeland in choosing Babylon as the capital of his new state (Str. 15. 3. 9–10; Diod. 17. 108. 4), and his growing reliance on Persian administrators and troops. While Alexander claimed he had crossed to Asia to liberate the Greeks there from Persian rule and to wreak revenge on the Persians for their interference in Greek affairs going all the way back to the sixth century (Diod. 17. 24. 1), this was a piece of propaganda,

borrowed from his father, designed to encourage the Greeks to support him (Squillace 2004: 60–71). For the native populations of Egypt, parts of western Asia, and Babylonia, Alexander expanded this propagandistic theme, presenting himself as both an avenger of and a liberator from Persian oppression. One of the major crises in his expedition came with his conquest of the Persian heartland. No longer could he pretend to be a liberator. He was for all the world to see a conqueror.

That Alexander was in a hurry in his pursuit of conquest did not obfuscate his shrewdness. Almost without fail the young king recognized local cultural and religious traditions, and accommodated himself to local elites. While conquest was his primary motive, he did wish to retain what he had conquered, and in this goal he was quite astute. The king practiced religious toleration throughout his dominions (Fredricksmeier 2003: 260). He honored the Egyptian and Babylonian gods (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 4, 16. 3–4). Indeed, as among the Greek communities in Asia, so in many other areas of the former Persian Empire, such as Egypt and Babylonia, Alexander was viewed not just as a liberator but as a respecter of native deities (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 2, 16. 3–4; Curt. 4. 7. 1–4; 5. 1. 19). Polybius (5. 10. 8) comments, “when [Alexander] crossed into Asia to avenge on the Persians the impious outrages which they had inflicted on the Greeks, he did his best to exact the full penalty from men, but refrained from injuring places dedicated to the gods; though it was in precisely such that the injuries of the Persians in Greece had been most conspicuous.”

At Sardes in Lydia, in 334, Alexander was met by the Persian citadel commander, Mithrenes, and the chief citizens of the city, who surrendered the city, its citadel, and treasury to the Macedonian. Alexander reciprocated by proclaiming the people “free,” likely meaning local self-government, and permitting their return to their “ancestral customs” (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 4). While Alexander ordered the construction of a temple to Olympian Zeus, there is no record of Lydian objection, nor any evidence of religious repression on the part of the Macedonian king. It is very likely that the Lydians may have associated Zeus with a local god, perhaps even a Lydian Zeus (Briant 2002: 704). In any case, the cosmopolitan nature of the city meant that there were those of Greek origin present and that those who were not Greek in origin would still be very familiar with Greek culture and religion (Schachermeyr 1973: 182; Briant 2002:

703). In Egypt, Alexander entered the country without opposition, welcomed by “a huge crowd of Egyptians” at Pelusium and later the satrapy was surrendered to him by the Persian commander Mazaces (Curt. 4. 7. 2; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 2; Diod. 17. 49. 2). In Memphis, he publicly sacrificed to Apis and promised to restore the Egyptian temples desecrated by the Persians. Alexander likely received an abbreviated version of the official coronation rites (see Chapter 3). In Babylon, the Macedonian king was greeted as a conquering hero (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 3; Diod. 17. 64. 4). On his way to Babylon, he was met by the satrap Mazaeus who surrendered the city to him; the road leading into the city had been strewn with flowers; the priests and people came out to escort him into the city (Curt. 5. 1. 17–23; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 3; Diod. 17. 64. 3–4). While in the city, Alexander promised to restore temples and performed the duties associated with kingship, and worshiped Bel-Marduk, the patron god of Babylon (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 5; Bosworth 1980B: 316). As in Egypt, even though no specific enthronement is mentioned, Alexander does receive the standard titles associated with kingship, “Alexander, king of the world,” “Alexander, king of all lands” (Sachs and Hunger 1988: 179, 181; Chapter 3). When Alexander left Babylon he was accompanied by a number of Babylonian priests who were present on the expedition to perform various rites (Plut. *Alex.* 57. 4). His entourage also included a number of Egyptian astrologers (Curt. 4. 10. 4).

While it is claimed that Alexander repressed Persian Zoroastrianism (Shahbazi 2003: 5–38), the evidence comes from late sources in the Sassanid period, and is contested, with many scholars arguing that Zoroastrianism was not suppressed.² Persian priests are associated with Alexander’s reconciliation banquet at Opis in 324, where the king attempted to resolve differences between his Macedonian and Persian forces (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 8; see Chapter 5), and Darius’ wife was buried according to “Persian custom” (Curt. 3. 12. 13; 4. 10. 23). Once in Persia itself, where liberation could not be used as a propaganda tool with the local population, Alexander included Persians in his personal entourage, began to adopt Persian dress, court procedure, advisors, and increasingly incorporated oriental units into his ever-growing army (Carney 1996: 19–44; Anson 2004: 355–7). He would even marry three eastern princesses, two of whom were Persian (Plut. *Alex.* 47. 7–8; Diod. 17. 107. 6; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 4),³ and oversee the mixed

marriages of a wide assortment of officers and soldiers (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 4–8). These marriages were performed according to Persian ceremony and more than 10,000 such unions were solemnized (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 7–8). Moreover, numbers of prominent Persians from the previous regime willingly joined Alexander and became advisors, courtiers, and officials (see Chapter 5). The other claimed example of religious oppression has more substance. In India in 325, Alexander savagely repressed the Brahmans, but this was prompted by their resistance to his authority (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 7. 4–6, 16, 5; Diod. 17. 102. 6–7; Bosworth 1996A: 94–7).

To resist Alexander was to incur his wrath regardless of your religious beliefs, cultural persuasion, or ethnic identity. Throughout his military operations, Alexander followed a policy of rewarding those who surrendered quickly and punishing severely those who resisted. The classic example of the latter was his destruction of the rebellious city of Thebes, one of the great cities of Hellenic civilization. After being taken by assault the city itself was destroyed, except for the temples, the house of a noted poet, and the citadel, “the Cadmea,” which was garrisoned; the survivors, except for priests, guest-friends of the Macedonians, the descendants of Pindar (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 9. 9–10), and those who had voted against the revolt (Plut. *Alex.* 11. 12), were sold into slavery (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 7. 4–8. 4). Even though the order for the destruction came officially from the League of Corinth (Diod. 17. 14; Just. 11. 3. 8–11; Plut. *Alex.* 11. 11), it is clear that Alexander could have saved the city if he wished. This conclusion is at the least implied in all three authors. Diodorus (17. 14. 4) states that the king destroyed the city in accordance with the decree, but adds that he thus “presented possible rebels among the Greeks with a terrible warning.” Justin (11. 4. 1–7) presents a Theban captive begging Alexander to save the city, but the king’s “anger prevailed” and the city was destroyed. Plutarch is even more emphatic with Alexander personally ordering the destruction both to terrify other Greek states and to gratify his allies. The brutality was decried by most of the Greek world, but Alexander was able to proceed to Asia without further trouble (Worthington 2003: 65–86). Greece remained at peace until 329, when the undefeated Spartans who led a revolt were crushed by Alexander’s regent for Macedonia, Antipater (Diod. 17. 62. 6–63. 3; Curt. 6. 1. 1–21). Sparta had never acknowledged Alexander’s hegemony in the Greek world, nor had Alexander made a personal appearance in the Peloponnesus.

The brutality exhibited with respect to Thebes was again demonstrated in the later sieges of Tyre (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 24. 3–6; Curt. 4. 4. 13–17) and Gaza (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 27. 7; Curt. 4. 6. 26–30). While in neither of these two cases were the cities utterly destroyed, their original surviving populations were enslaved and others brought in to inhabit the cities (Just. 18. 3. 19; Arr. *Anab.* 2. 27. 7). In December of 331, when the Uxian tribesmen, who controlled the mountainous passage between the twin Persian capitals of Susa and Persepolis, demanded that Alexander pay them for the right to cross their lands, a payment routinely made by the Persians, Alexander attacked them. So brutal and persistent was this assault that in the end, the Uxians agreed to pay a yearly tribute to Alexander for the right to retain their lands (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 17. 1–6). Similarly in the winter of 324/323, Alexander attacked the recalcitrant Cossaeans and forced their submission (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 15. 2–3; Diod. 17. 111. 4–6; Plut. *Alex.* 72. 3).

While unlike so many of his Greek and Macedonian contemporaries, including his teacher Aristotle (*Pol.* 1255a, 1285a, 1333b), Alexander was not a racist. He was not interested, in the words of one of the great Alexander scholars of the last century, William Woodthorpe Tarn (1950: 399–439), in creating a brotherhood of all humanity. He was Alexander and all others were hence inferior and his subjects. It is within this context that Alexander's conquests and their organization must be understood. As he moved beyond the borders of his homeland in miles he also journeyed beyond his Macedonian and Greek background in scale both in achievement and in conceit. Moreover, he was not exchanging one national form of kingship for another, from Macedonian to Persian. It has been made clear by Nicholas Hammond (1986: 73–85) and E. A. Fredricksmeier (2000: 136–66) that Alexander did not wish to become the "Great King," the king of Persia, but, if not before, at least after his victory at Issus in 333, he wished to be regarded as "King of Asia" (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 14. 9; Plut. *Alex.* 34. 1; see also Arr. *Anab.* 7. 14. 4), indicating both that his kingship was not to be that of the Persians and that his ambition already extended beyond the limits of the Persian Empire and into India. These conclusions do not appear out of step with Alexander's adoption of the various political customs of other conquered people. He participated in Egyptian and Babylonian religious practices and assumed the mantle of Pharaoh of Egypt and "King of the World" in Babylon

(Sachs and Hunger 1988: 179, 181). “King of the World” appears as a title employed in the days of both the old and new Babylonian empires (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991: 78). Objections have been raised that Alexander was not made the true pharaoh of Egypt, but rather given a status reserved for a “foreign” ruler. However, the iconography would suggest that the difference in status emphasized by scholars (accepted as king but not formally crowned and imbued with the “royal ka” [Burstein 1991: 140–2]) may only have been obvious to an inner circle of Egyptian priests and a hand full of modern scholars (Burstein 1991, Hölbl 1997, and Collins 2008: 44–59).

In Macedonia, Alexander adopted and rarely altered the policies of his father. There is some evidence of a deviation in one area and this may have more to do with varying political situations than with any actual policy conflict. Philip, as has long been recognized, used marriage as a diplomatic tool from early in his reign. Through six of his marriages he formed personal bonds with rulers or prominent families in Illyria, Elimeia, Thessaly (two Thessalian wives), Epirus, and Thrace (Athen. 13. 557B-E; Carney 2006C: 52–68). His marriage to Meda, the daughter of Cothelas, the King of the Getae, a north Thracian tribe, clearly shows that even apparently late in his reign, Philip was still using marriage as a way to strengthen his alliances with those peoples surrounding Macedonia.⁴ Alexander, however, did not marry until 327. He did, however, in 334, to cement a familial connection, permit himself to be adopted by Ada, a member of the hereditary ruling family of Caria and his new satrap of that region (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 23. 7–8), a variation on Philip’s use of familial relationships to cement political alliances. When Alexander did finally take a bride, this marriage like those of his father, had obvious political overtones. In the spring of 327, after taking the fortress, called “the Rock of Sogdiana,” (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 18. 4–5), Alexander married one of the captives, Roxane, the daughter of a prominent Sogdian nobleman, Oxyartes (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 19. 4–5, 20. 4), forming an alliance with her powerful father. The delay in marriages may have had more to do initially with Philip’s plans than with Alexander’s. Late in his reign Philip was arranging a number of marriages involving members of his family. Amyntas Perdicca, Philip’s dead brother’s son, married Cynane, Philip’s daughter by the Illyrian Audata (Carney 2006C: 80). Philip further attempted to arrange a marriage between the Carian dynast

Pixodarus and his son Arrhidaeus with disastrous results, when Alexander attempted to interpose himself as the suitor of the Carian bride (see Chapter 3). In this context, Philip's reported comment regarding Alexander's interest in marrying the Carian, if accurate, is significant. He is reported to have said that Alexander was too good for "a Carian and a slave of the Great King" (*Alex.* 10. 3). Given that Philip and Alexander were preparing to leave soon for Asia⁵ and with no wedding in sight for the latter, if the quotation is substantially correct, the only viable candidate for such a future marriage would have been a daughter of the Great King himself. This would imply much with regard to Philip's intentions with respect to his proposed expedition. When Parmenion, supposedly in response to Darius' offer to cede all territory west of the Euphrates after Alexander's victory at Issus, and give the hand of one of his daughters to Alexander, stated that he would have taken the offer refused by his king (Diod. 17. 54. 1–6; Just. 11. 12. 9–16), perhaps, he was reflecting what he knew of Philip's original intentions. However, all that can be said with respect to marriage diplomacy is that Alexander found no need to exercise it prior to his struggles in Bactria and Sogdiana.⁶ His lack of an early marriage then was not a break with his father's policies. His failure to leave behind an heir prior to his departure for Asia was the direct result of his father's preferences and Alexander's own desire not to leave behind any male Argead relation, close or distant, who might be used to secure the throne in the king's absence. That Antipater was one of those who recommended that Alexander marry and produce an heir before leaving for Asia and whose advice the king refused, is, perhaps, another source of the suspicious Alexander's lack of full trust in his Macedonian regent (Curt. 10. 10. 14). At the time of Philip's death, Alexander was practically the only Argead left. The new king would see to the demise of all but his brother Arrhidaeus, who then accompanied him on the expedition (Just. 13. 2. 8; Curt. 10. 7. 2). Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas III, was apparently executed on Alexander's order soon after King Philip's assassination (Just. 12. 6. 14; Arr. *Anab.* 1. 5. 4), and possibly a half-brother Caranus was also murdered (Just. 11. 2. 3), although the latter's existence is suspect (see Heckel 1979: 385–93).⁷

While Philip had united Macedonia and turned her into the most powerful nation in the Western world, cementing most of the population in loyalty to the monarchy through his viri-

distributions of land and his encouragement of urbanization, he had only begun the process of creating a bureaucracy. At the time of Philip's death, Macedonia was not a bureaucratic state. Most of the government was either in the hands of the king's *hetairoi* or of communities under the authority of the king but operating with much independence (see Chapter 2). Alexander's government, from the start and even at its end, was in the tradition of Macedonia, a personal monarchy. When the king departed for Asia he left Antipater as regent ("*epitropos*") or general ("*strategos*") with powers equivalent to that of a sitting monarch "over Macedonian and Greek affairs" (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 3; Diod. 18. 11. 1; Curt. 4. 1. 39; Just. 11. 7. 1). As such he served as Alexander's representative on the various Panhellenic bodies in the king's absence, but he did reserve major decisions for the monarch. After his defeat of the Spartan Agis, Antipater referred the disposition of the Spartans and their allies to the League of Corinth, which in turn submitted the decision to Alexander (Curt. 6. 1. 19–20). The ultimate decision was made by the Macedonian monarch himself (Aeschin. 3. 133; Diod. 17. 73. 5–6; Curt. 6. 1. 20). Agis was among those in the Peloponnesus and elsewhere who had contemplated a confederation to overthrow Macedonian hegemony soon after Philip's death (Diod. 17. 3), but who were deterred by Alexander's swift action against Thebes (Diod. 17. 4). Agis, however, who had never joined the League of Corinth, remained in communication with the Persians, and in 332 formed a new, albeit, much smaller coalition, against Macedonian authority. Initially he enjoyed some success, defeating the Macedonian general Corrhagus, but was, in the summer of 331, defeated soundly and killed in the Battle of Megalopolis (Diod. 17. 63. 1–4; Curt. 6. 1. 1–16; Just. 12. 1. 4–11).

It is clear that Alexander made sure that no one would forget who was King of Macedonia and Hegemon of the League. While Antipater was in overall authority in Europe, there were, however, separate commanders in Thrace (Diod. 17. 62. 4–6, 63. 1) and in the Peloponnese, the latter, likely headquartered in Corinth (Aeschin. 3. 165; Heckel 2006: 94). These and perhaps certain unnamed garrison commanders were ostensibly subordinate to the regent's authority, but they apparently also enjoyed a level of independence, likely claiming that their actual obedience was owed to the king. In 331, Memnon, the "general of Thrace," in possession of a separate military force, "revolted against Alexander," but later came to some

sort of satisfactory terms with Antipater (Diod. 17. 62. 5–6, 63. 1), for Memnon in 326 is found bringing reinforcements from Thrace to his king in Asia (Curt. 9. 3. 21). Given that Memnon remained in Thrace after his “revolt” and even is found later bringing reinforcements to the king suggests that his rebellion may have been more about a disagreement with Antipater than any direct assault on Alexander’s authority. What is clear is that Alexander did not fully trust his subordinates. Despite Antipater’s apparent loyalty to his king, including being one of his most immediate supporters after Philip’s assassination, Alexander’s confidence in the man was certainly tempered. The king is reported to have commented often on Antipater’s “regal aspirations” (Curt. 10. 10. 14), and it was further claimed that the king was jealous of the regent’s accomplishments in Europe, that is, his defeat of Agis, calling it “a war of mice” (Plut. *Ages.* 15. 6; Curt. 6. 1. 18–19). If these statements are true, they say more about Alexander than they do about any latent ambitions held by Antipater. After the conqueror’s death, Antipater served as regent for Alexander’s heirs (Arr. *Succ.* 1. 33, 42–4; Diod. 18. 39. 3–4), and in a very nondynastic move, on his deathbed, made an unrelated infantry commander his successor as regent, overlooking a number of his own adult sons (Diod. 18. 49. 1–3).

Throughout his life, Alexander, with very few exceptions, lacked trust in his subordinates, and this distrust was reflected in his administrative appointments. This was likely the result of most of these subordinates being the loyal adherents of his father. In the words of Waldemar Heckel (1992: 3), “the army that crossed the Hellespont in 334 BC was still very much that of Philip II, its leaders chosen from the firmly entrenched aristocratic families of Makedon.” Antipater, while being among the first to hail Alexander as king after the assassination of his father and being regarded by many scholars as critically responsible for the new king’s relatively smooth accession, was and had been for 20-plus years one of Philip’s right-hand men. He was often regent in Macedonia in the king’s absence and generally considered as the most powerful of Philip’s *betairoi* (Heckel 1992: 39–40). Many of what are deemed to be Alexander’s innovations in the administration of his empire, in particular early in his campaign in Asia, including his division of authority in certain satrapies among a number of officials, may be the direct result of Alexander’s lack of trust in the officer corps inherited from his father.

Moreover, despite our sources' general lack of interest in the logistics of the campaign, it is clear that either Alexander himself or his subordinates engaged in what must have been meticulous advance planning before making further advances during the expedition. In the words of General J. F. C. Fuller (1989: 53): "Without an extensive and highly efficient supply train it would have been totally impossible for Alexander to have carried out his many rapid marches, to have crossed the sparsely inhabited plain of Persia, to have led his army over the Hindu-Kush, to have operated for months on end in the mountain fastness of the North-West Frontier of India, and to have traversed the deserts of Makran." Given that Alexander's army needed on many occasions "to live off the land," invasions had often to be meticulously planned to coincide with growing seasons and the availability of fodder along the line of march (see Engels 1978). Alexander and his army moved with apparent ease through regions where other armies had suffered severely from supply shortages (Engels 1978: 3). Until his march into the Gedrosian desert, his army hardly experienced any major logistical problems. While this particular expedition may have been meticulously planned (Engels 1978: 110), it did result in privation and likely severe losses especially among the camp followers (Bosworth 1988: 145–6).

Politically, Alexander also showed great ability. To counter the opposition of the Athenians and other democratic governments hostile to his ambitions, Philip had routinely supported oligarchic governments (Lott 1996: 34–5), and Alexander with respect to the Greek mainland did as well. An orator, likely Hypereides (Bosworth 1988: 190), accused Alexander of restoring the tyrants Neon and Thrasymachus to Messene ([Dem.] 17. 4–7). While this is proclaimed to be an act "contrary to the oaths and the compacts as set forth in the general peace," in actuality they were restored as required by the terms of the Peace of Corinth (Tod 1948: 177, ll. 12–15). However, in another case, Alexander ignored the dictates of the League. In Pellene, the Olympic wrestler Chaeron, apparently with Alexander's blessing, overthrew the existing democracy and became tyrant with the assistance of Corrhagus, likely, the Macedonian garrison commander in Corinth ([Dem.] 17. 10; Paus. 7. 27. 7; Athen 11. 509A–B; Aes. 3. 165).

In mainland Greece, where democratic city-states, such as Athens, had most often opposed the Macedonians, Alexander, like his father,

favored oligarchies. However, when Alexander "liberated" Greek cities from Persian rule in the Aegean or in Asia, he recognized the traditional Greek city-state governments of voting assemblies, but whereas the Persians had favored oligarchies, Alexander created democracies (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 18. 2). This policy switch from supporting Greek oligarchies to Greek democracies, may have been suggested by the experience of the military force sent to Asia by Philip. During this advance campaign in 336, the democratic element in Ephesus betrayed the city to the Macedonians (Badian 1967: 40; Lott 1996: 35). The Greek world had been convulsed for centuries by the struggles between oligarchs and democrats within virtually every Greek community. By favoring Greek democracy in Asia, the Macedonian autocrat, created loyal allies in the "freed" cities; the democrats had been "oppressed" by the Persian supported oligarchies. "Liberation," however, did not mean sovereignty; the cities only enjoyed the same limited autonomy that had existed under the Persians. In the case of Hellespontine Phrygia, Alexander ordered that the cities pay the same "tribute" to Alexander as they had paid to the Persians (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 1–2). Most of the Greek cities in this province had remained cool to Alexander until after his victory at the Granicus. He had bypassed Lampsacus and Colonae (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 12. 6), and Zeleia was "forgiven" for not supporting Alexander earlier (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 2). Their lack of initial support, however, relegated them to their tributary status. However, to the people of this region Alexander's actions with respect to them might almost have been seen as benefactions. When in 335 BC Parmenion took the Aeolic city of Grynium by storm, the inhabitants were sold into slavery (Diod. 17. 7. 9), and the example of Thebes' destruction was certainly known. Alexander, however, had made his point at Thebes. When Aspendus after first agreeing to Alexander's terms, then reneging on them, but subsequently surrendering, Alexander doubled the sum originally demanded, ordered them to deliver hostages, to abide by the dictates of the satrap, and to pay annual "tribute" to Macedonia (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 26. 2–27. 4). Badian (1967: 65) points out that the sum originally demanded was a substantial 50 talents, and the subsequent exorbitant demand of 100 talents, might be part of the price these "liberated" communities had to pay for their "freedom." Badian further reminds that Alexander was initially short of funds (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 9. 6; Curt. 10. 2. 24; Plut. *Alex.* 15. 2–4) and these demands may have been necessary

to support financially the ongoing campaign. Alexander's later remission of financial demands on those subsequently freed was then likely the result of far more favorable financial circumstances following his occupation of Lydia and his growing access to formerly Persian resources. In most cases, with respect to the Greeks in Asia, he eliminated the tribute that was formerly paid to the Persian government (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 18. 2), but as allies they might be required to pay "contributions" (Heisserer 1980: xxv; Brunt 1976: li).

Alexander adopted the various positions held by his father Philip in the Greek world without alteration. He became the *Archon* for life of the Thessalian League (Diod. 17. 4. 1; Just. 11. 3. 2). Included in this authority was overall command of the armed forces of Thessaly (Dem. 8. 26), control of customs duties and market fees (Dem. 1. 22), and the power to appoint regional officials (Dem. 8. 26; *FGrH* 115 F-208) and likely international representatives of the Thessalian people as well. The latter was especially the case with respect to the Amphictyonic Council (Roebuck 1948: 79). With the conclusion of the Third Sacred War, Philip had secured the two seats on the Council formerly held by the Phocians for himself and his heirs. Together with the two he controlled for the Thessalians he dominated this most Panhellenic of Greek organizations. Two of Philip's greatest victories came while he was acting in the interests of the Council, at Crocus Field and Chaeronea, in the Third and Fourth Sacred Wars respectively. Alexander secured this same control over the Amphictyony (Diod. 17. 4. 2). Finally, in his father's stead, he was proclaimed *Hegemon* of the League of Corinth and overall commander of the Panhellenic forces preparing for the invasion of the Persian Empire (Diod. 17. 4. 9; Just. 11. 2. 5; Arr. *Anab.* 1. 1. 2-3; 2. 14. 4; 7. 9. 5). The League of Corinth was a "common peace," in addition to being an alliance. Its formal oath sets forth the terms both of the alliance and the peace.

[Oath. I swear by Zeus, Gaia, Helios, Pose]idon, A[thena, Ares and all the gods and goddesses.] I will abide [by the peace and I will neither break the] treaty [with Philip the Macedonian, nor] will I bear arms [with malicious intent against any of those] who abide by [their oaths, either by land] or by sea, [nor] will I seize with warlike intent [a *polis* or] fort [or harbor] of any of those [who participate in the peace] by any device [or trick, nor] will I overthrow the monarchy of Philip [or his heirs or the

constitutions (*politeiai*) existing] in each state when they swore [the oaths concerning] the peace, [nor will I myself do anything] against this [treaty nor] will I allow anyone else to do so, as far as [I am able; and if anyone does anything] which breaks [the treaty, I will help those who are wronged] as they request and I will make war against the transgressor [of the common peace] as is [decided by] the common council and as the *hēgemōn* [requests and I will not] desert . . . (a partial list of those peoples swearing followed). (Tod 1948: 224–5; Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 372–4; see also Diod. 16. 89; Just. 9. 5)

Philip and Alexander used the League as it suited them. Many of the city-states had undergone pro-Philip oligarchic revolutions and certain cities had received garrisons after his victory at Chaeronea (Roebuck 1948: 73–92). As a result, the League of Corinth was actually an instrument to enforce Philip's post war settlements. Much argument has arisen over whether the "liberated" Greek cities of Asia and the Aegean were made members of the League. In the absence of irrefutable evidence one way or the other, the strongest argument for their inclusion is that this would have enhanced the propaganda version of Alexander's expedition as a war of liberation and revenge. It would hardly make any real difference, however. Ernst Badian's assessment (1967: 39), made some 50 years ago, still remains accurate: "It is therefore pointless to pontificate about legal status and to draw fine distinctions between *de jure* and *de facto* situations, in a relationship that was clearly governed by the will of one man." In an inscription most date to 334 (Tod 1948: 263–7; Heisserer 1980: 80; Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 418–25; 80), when Chios was "liberated" from her Persian oligarchic rulers, Alexander imposed conditions on the restored democracy (Heisserer 1980: 80, ll. 3–4). All those exiled under the previous government were to be reinstated (l. 3); the new "constitution" was to be submitted to Alexander for approval (ll. 4–7); the Chians were to supply "twenty manned triremes at their own expense" to the allied fleet (ll. 8–9); and "until the Chians are reconciled" a garrison was placed in their city (ll. 17–19). All of these actions were taken even though Chios was made a member of the League of Corinth. This appears clear from the mandate that those who had supported the previous, pro-Persian administration were liable to seizure and trial before the "assembly [*synedrion*] of the Greeks," which can only be

referring to the League's *synedrion* (Tod 1948: 224, l. 24; Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 374, l. 21). Other surviving inscriptions bear out the relationship expressed in the Chian decree. Eresus had to deal with its exiles as Alexander determined (Heisserer 1980: 36–45), and at Priene, Alexander declared the people to be autonomous, but certain surrounding villages and the “countryside around” were proclaimed to belong to Alexander (Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 432). These cities were free in their internal affairs only and even that was subject to Alexander's dictates (Bickerman 1934: 346–7). All were subject to the will of the Macedonian king.

It was at the meeting in Corinth that Philip had proposed his expedition of revenge on the Persians (Diod. 16. 89. 2; Just. 9. 5. 5). Philip had clearly seen the advantage in claiming to be the “avenger of sacrilege.” Both of his major incursions into the world of the southern Greek *poleis* had been in the name of Apollo (Squillace 2010: 69–80). A Panhellenic war on the Persians was a popular topic in the fourth century that also offered the opportunity to clothe a personal act of imperialism in the guise of a crusade (Flower 2000: 98–107). Philip's charge to Parmenion and Attalus was “to liberate the Greek cities” (Diod. 16. 91. 2). Certainly the initial success of the Macedonian advance expedition was in part the result of the welcomed response on the part of the Greeks of Asia. Alexander was to emphasize this aspect of the campaign right up to and including the burning of the palace in Persepolis in 330. After his battle on the Granicus, he sent 300 Persian panoplies as a dedication to Athena on the Athenian acropolis (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 7; Plut. *Alex.* 16. 17–18); at Issus, he reminded his Greek allies of the Persian wars, and how Greek temples had been burned and destroyed (Curt. 3. 10. 8–9; Just. 11. 9. 4). His burning of the palace of Persepolis in 330 was a deliberate act to punish the Persians for their invasion of Greece and to bring symbolically this aspect of the war to an end (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 12; Str. 15. 3. 6; see discussion in Chapter 5).

To cement his hold on occupied territories, again following the actions of his father, Alexander created a number of cities in Asia in addition to the most famous of his foundations, Alexandria in Egypt. The majority of these communities were located in central Asia, an area that had proven difficult to pacify and with Alexander's ambitions turning ever eastward, he did not wish to have to return to this area again for the purpose of putting down rebellions. With a sizable military presence, such difficulties would be handled locally.

Alexander's cities like the garrisons he left throughout his growing empire were primarily for immediate military purposes. Prior to his departure for Asia, Alexander had already founded one city in the territory of the Maedi when he was but 16 years. Here he captured their city, drove the inhabitants out, replacing them with a "mixed population" (Plut. *Alex.* 9. 1; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 2: 558). Given that the city was in hostile territory, this was in all likelihood a military colony. His foundations of Alexandria in Areia (modern Herat? [Fraser 1996: 110, 112–13]), Alexandria in Arachosia (modern Kandahar [Fraser 1996: 138–40]), and Alexandria at Caucasus (modern Charikar [Fraser 1996: 143–50]) all possessed sizable military cores (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 25. 1–7, 28. 2–3; Curt. 6. 6. 20–34; 7. 3. 2, 4. 33–7; Diod. 17. 81. 3). Additionally, these cities were strategically placed. Alexandria at Caucasus controlled the road leading to India (Diod. 17. 83. 1, with Fraser 1996: 141 n. 69). Alexandria Eschate, built on the Taxais River (Syr Darya) on the borders of Sogdiana and Scythia, was to be a defensive bastion against the nomadic tribes north of the river (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 1. 3), and even Egyptian Alexandria, despite the lack of any specific notice of a military component here, had broad military implications. Alexandria did give Egypt a city on a great harbor, which Egypt had lacked, which controlled the chief channel of the Nile, and Arrian (*Anab.* 3. 1. 5, 2. 1; Diod. 17. 52. 2) speaks of Alexander marking out the outlines for the walls, while Diodorus (17. 52. 3) notes its easily defensible location. It clearly was a happy confluence for Alexander of practicality and glory. The city was given his name; he was the designated founder. Moreover, Alexander likely could see that this city would become a commercial center and hence add to his glory throughout the ages, but in the immediacy of occupation it was as a military base of operations and as his Egyptian capital that Alexandria in Egypt was founded. This would guard the sea approaches to Egypt, as the land approach across Sinai was protected by the resettled Gaza. Having killed or enslaved the entire population after his siege of that gateway city to Egypt, he then repopulated the city with neighboring tribesmen (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 27. 7). While it is not specified, it is likely that he also left a garrison of Greeks and Macedonians. This was his pattern with existing communities of strategic importance. In Asia Minor this had been common practice. Also, after his destruction of Thebes he had left a garrison to occupy the citadel, and, at Tyre, after the massacre of

the resisting population and the settlement of new inhabitants from the surrounding area in what was left of the city (Just. 18. 3. 19–4. 1), Alexander left a force to guard the area (Curt. 4. 5. 9).

Egyptian Alexandria and all of Alexander's major foundations were to be primarily Greek and Macedonian cities. In his planning of Egyptian Alexandria, the king marked where the market place would be and the temples of the Greek gods and Isis (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 5). While the latter goddess was Egyptian in origin, the goddess and her cult were known in Greece, where she was often associated with Demeter (Hdts. 2. 59. 2, 156. 5; 4. 186. 2; Pl. *Leg.* 2. 657B). The city, also, was founded according to Macedonian practice (Curt. 4. 8. 6). While Justin (11. 11. 13) calls Egyptian Alexandria a "Macedonian colony," there is no explicit evidence regarding who the first inhabitants were (Fraser 1972: 38, 62–3). Certainly large numbers of Greeks, resident in Egypt, would likely flock to the new city. There were numerous Greek settlements in Egypt, at Naucratis and likely in many predominantly Egyptian communities (Bingen 2007: 105–6). Many of these individuals may have been encouraged to settle along with the various forces left by Alexander in Egypt once it was completed. From the evidence it is also clear that many native Egyptians were to be included, but likely not as *politai* (citizens) (Fraser 1996: 186). As Frank Holt (1995: 58) states, "they were likely to have been a segregated, second-class group serving the discharged Macedonians and Greek mercenaries who controlled this and other colonies in the king's name." Pierre Briant (1982: 77–8) sees the natives as an exploited labor force. In Ptolemaic times, the population was divided constitutionally among Greeks and Macedonians, who enjoyed citizenship of some variety, and the non-Greek population that typically did not (Fraser 1972: 59–75).

There is also little evidence for the political structure of these communities during Alexander's lifetime. The only clear statement is with respect to the founding of Alexandria at Caucasus. Here, Alexander left an "*hetairos*," Nicanor, in charge of the city (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 22. 5). In Egypt, however, Cleomenes was in charge of the city's creation (Just. 13. 4. 11) and may have remained in authority after its creation. In Susa, after Alexander's return from India, Arrian (*Anab.* 7. 6. 1) refers to the "satraps from the new cities [Alexander] had founded." The royal representative present in Alexandria Eschate was titled hyparch (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 22. 4).

Generally a term for a subordinate, Arrian occasionally uses the this term to mean a satrap (for example, *Anab.* 1. 12. 8; 3. 5. 7). Bosworth (1995: 145) has argued correctly that such an official would be independent of the satrap and “comparable in status to the regional satrap.” He (1980: 112) further notes that Arrian uses the terms hyparch and satrap as “conscious variation[s].” It is likely that Alexander was following a pattern established by his father in the creation of his cities (see Chapter 2). As in those communities, either acquired by conquest or created, it is likely that a great deal of autonomy was permitted with respect to a local assembly and, perhaps, some local magistrates. Evidence exists for the presence of both in Alexander’s treatment of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, where democratic assemblies were established, and in the two revolts from his authority by the Greek colonists of central Asia. In both revolts, in 326 and in 323, the disgruntled colonists had recourse to assemblies and elected leaders (Curt. 9. 7. 5–10; Diod. 18. 7. 2). However, royal power and prerogative were never abrogated and a royal official was present to maintain both. During Hellenistic times, the presence of a royal official called the *epistates* became common in the cities (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 165–6; Manning 2003: 53–4, 156), and may date from the reign of Philip II (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 388–9; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 476). Philip’s cities in Macedonia, while not juridically independent entities, through a general lack of close royal supervision carried out most of the activities of local government with a minimum of interference. The evidence also shows that in their organization the cities of the Hellenistic Age owed much to the nature of Macedonian cities, especially those created or captured and transformed by Philip, rather than to the classical Greek *polis* or those pre-existing communities of the Near East (Errington 2002: 16–19). Certainly the new communities created by Alexander and his Successors were not “free” in the classical Greek sense of being autonomous and at least theoretically in charge of their own destinies. While classical Greek cities often became subject to the authority of some outside power, as in the heyday of the fifth-century Athenian Empire, they tended to remain fiercely independent. Most classical Greek cities guarded their citizenship vigorously (Hammond 1993: 23; Anson 2004: 192). Even though certain Greek states were forcibly absorbed by other *poleis*, and a number of federations were created in which there was a local citizenship as well as a federal one (Larsen 1968),

city-states would seldom willingly give up their independence totally. This attachment to ethnicity is seen in the behavior of many Greeks. The ancient Spartans once a year purged their population of “foreigners” and the far more cosmopolitan Athenians instituted a citizenship law requiring that both parents be Athenian citizens for a child to be considered as such (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26. 3; Plut. *Per.* 37. 3–5). However, the typical Macedonian *polis* was a mixture of Macedonians and other peoples. Each community retained a level of self-government, but was subject to royal authority, which was most often represented by locally chosen officials (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 424–9; Errington 2002: 16–18).

Most of Alexander’s most notable and clearly attested foundations, with the great exception of Alexandria in Egypt, were placed in central Asia and designed to hold captured territory against neighboring tribal, nomadic, peoples and to secure the regions from internal revolutions by the conquered. In Margiana, Alexander founded six towns “to check the conquered nations” (Curt. 7. 10. 15–16). This was a pattern his father Philip had practiced on the frontiers of Macedonia, founding “strong cities at key locations” in Thrace (Diod. 16. 71. 2; *FGrH* 115 F-110; Pliny *NH* 4. 18; Dem. 8. 44; Str. 7. 6. 2), and along his frontier with Illyria (Dem. 4. 48; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 654). Unfortunately, most of our evidence concerning Alexander’s urban creations is sparse at best. According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 328E) he founded 70 cities, incorporating natives, volunteers, and soldiers no longer fit for duty, in these communities. Justin (12. 5. 12–13) states that Alexander founded 13 cities in Bactria and Sogdiana alone. These likely inflated numbers include many existing towns that were simply garrisoned (see Arr. *Anab.* 4. 1. 4) and in a number of cases foundations by the later Seleucids (Fraser 1996: 35, 154), but there were major new foundations by Alexander himself. After Alexandria in Egypt, Alexander created Alexandrias in Aria, Susiane, in Sogdiana, and in the territory of the Oreitaians (Fraser 1996: 201). In most of these cases, there is little detail presented by our sources other than the brief notice. However, Alexandria at Caucasus contained 7,000 from the “subject nations,” 3,000 from the camp followers, and mercenary volunteers (Curt. 7. 3. 23; Diod. 17. 83. 1–2; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 28. 4; 4. 4. 1). No Macedonians are specifically mentioned. However, later in 327, Alexander added additional people from the countryside and “all the soldiers unfit for fighting” (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 22. 5), which

likely included some Macedonians. The combination of natives and soldiers unfit for service is also found at Alexandria Eschate (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 24. 7), and at an unnamed foundation along the Acesines (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 29. 3). Alexandria on the Tigris was peopled with Greek mercenaries, volunteers, soldiers unfit for service, and the former inhabitants of “the royal city of Durene,” which Alexander destroyed (Pliny *NH* 6. 31. 138–40; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 21. 7). According to Pliny (*NH* 6. 31. 139), one district in the latter was called Pella and inhabited entirely by Macedonians.

While the evidence is spotty it would appear that Alexander’s new cities reflect a basic pattern of settlement. These communities were composed of both members of the native population and “retired” soldiers, the vast majority being mercenaries. The latter were settled in large numbers (see below). Moreover, those foundations, which can be located, typically were established near frontiers or at critical communication centers. Alexander’s purpose in founding these communities was first and foremost military. At the core of these populations were soldiers. Their location was such that typically they would be self-sufficient and well placed for commercial activity. Indeed, the one comment most often found in connection with these foundations is that they were designed to “become large and prosper” (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 5; 4. 1. 3; 6. 21. 5). This may have been part of a propaganda campaign to convince the colonists that their being abandoned far from home was a good thing. Few saw it that way, as shown by the two revolts of the colonists in central Asia. In 326/325, while Alexander was recovering from a wound and rumored to be dead, 3,000 “Greeks,” who had been settled in Bactria and Sogdiana, “revolted from the Macedonians” and began their march home (Diod. 17. 99. 5–6; Curt. 9. 7. 1–11). Many of the native population “were forced to join in the rebellion” (Curt. 9. 7. 2), suggesting they did not share an equal status with the “Greek” colonists. Even though certain of the colonists may have been separated from the army by Alexander because of their insubordination (Just. 12. 5. 13), and others may have previously fought with the Persians and even with the Spartan Agis (Holt 1995: 78–80), it was clearly their desire to return to Greece that sparked the revolt (Diod. 17. 99. 6; Curt. 9. 7. 11).⁸ Curtius (9. 7. 1) states that the rebellion was “not so much about their hostility towards Alexander.” This was a difficult region to pacify, as shown by the rebellion that occurred in 329, which saw the massacre of many of

the first Graeco-Macedonians garrisoned in the region (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 1. 4–5). It took Alexander nearly two years to pacify Bactria and Sogdiana, and the resentment at the conquest may have run deep (so Holt 1995: 68–70). Alexander left an army of 10,000 infantry and 3,500 cavalry with his satrap in Bactria, Amyntas, the son of Nicolaus (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 22. 3; Curt. 8. 1. 19), and large numbers of troops in various garrisons and cities throughout these provinces.⁹ After Alexander's death, a force of 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry abandoned their homes in central Asia with the intent, like the colonists in 326/5, of marching back to Greece (Diod. 18. 17. 2). These numbers suggest a significant military presence in these satrapies. Alexander clearly recognized the danger of future rebellion in these areas, for he not only left this sizable Macedonian and Greek force but he also took with him on his invasion of India large numbers of Bactrian, Sogdian, and even Scythian cavalry (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 12. 2; Curt. 8. 5. 1), along with the sons of many of the Bactrian and Sogdian leaders (Curt. 8. 4. 21–2; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 5), thus minimizing the danger to those forces he had left behind.

While Alexander waited until his entrance into the Persian heartland to incorporate Persian infantry and cavalry into his forces (see Chapter 5), he started much earlier to make use of Persian administrative practices and administrators. While he typically left the basic governments he found in place, on occasion even leaving the same officials in charge, making his empire very eclectic, not unlike the Persian Empire he was in the process of conquering. Pierre Briant has described the latter as “a sort of loose federation of autonomous countries under the distant aegis of a Great King” (Briant 2002: 1). Alexander continued much of the basic Persian governmental structure where that was in effect, even calling the districts after the Persian terms satrapies and the governors, satraps. After his victory at the Granicus, Alexander made Calas his first satrap, the new governor of Hellespontine Phrygia (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 1). In Egypt, he followed Egyptian practice and became pharaoh, leaving in place the traditional system of local governors (nomarchs), apparently without even replacing the current holders of those positions (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 4; Curt. 4. 7. 5). Unfortunately, our evidence on Alexander's administrative practices is fragmentary at best. Our sources were not overly concerned with such details when describing one of the greatest military adventures of all times. It is consequently unclear if certain practices were carried out in

every circumstance and our sources only record them occasionally, or if there were broad distinctions made in the administration of the empire, and the practice was eclectic. The evidence, sparse as it is, suggests that Alexander did not form one or even a couple uniform patterns to deal with his conquests, but rather dealt with each new situation in whatever way appeared to him to be appropriate at the time and in the given situation. In most cases, he adhered fairly closely to Persian practice, but, as in the case of his city foundations, he also followed that of his father.

Even though it is often claimed that Alexander created separate officials in his satrapies to deal with civil, military, and financial duties, the presence of fully divided responsibilities in the satrapies is found clearly in only a few cases in our sources, as for example in the satrapies of Lydia, Caria, and Babylonia. In Alexander's first satrapal appointment in 334 in Hellespontine Phrygia, our sources only mention the appointment of the satrap, no other officials are noted (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 1–2; 2. 4. 1; Curt. 4. 5. 13). However, in Lydia, Alexander assigned the satrapy to Asander, while Pausanias was left in charge of the citadel of Sardis with a garrison, and Nicias was to supervise the finances and the collection of tribute; all three were independent of one another (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 7–8).¹⁰ But, later in Greater Phrygia, Antigonus Monothalmus was apparently left in total command of the province (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 29. 3; Curt. 3. 1. 8; Just. 13. 4. 14), and the brief mention of Nearchus' appointment in Lycia–Pamphylia–Pisidia also lists no other officials (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 6). Balacrus was general and satrap of Cilicia (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 12. 2; Diod. 18. 22. 1), but the fortress of Cyinda was likely under a separate commander (Diod. 18. 62. 2; Anson 2004: 159 n. 35). Yet, in Caria, the native Ada was satrap and maintained control of Alinda, “the strongest fortress in Caria” (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 23. 6, 8). Ptolemaeus, however, was in charge of a force of 3,200 troops at Halicarnassus (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 23. 6). In Babylonia, the Persian Mazaeus was appointed satrap, but Apollodorus was general, Asclepiodorus collected the taxes (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 4–5), and Agathon with 1,000 troops commanded the citadel of Babylon (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 4–5; Curt. 5. 1. 43; Diod. 17. 64. 5). While the satrap of Susiane was initially the Persian Abulites (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 9; Curt. 5. 2. 17) and his counterpart in Persis was his countryman Phrasaortes (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 11), military forces were again put under the command of Macedonians, as were the Persian twin

capitals of Susa and Persepolis, with separate commanders for their citadels (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 9; Curt. 5. 2. 16–17, 6. 11). In the case of the royal treasury in Susa, which contained after the transfers of the treasuries from Persepolis and Parsagada in excess of 120,000 talents (Curt. 5. 6. 10; Diod. 17. 71. 2), there was also a separate commander (Curt. 5. 2. 17). Alexander in Bactria is recorded as appointing a satrap, a military commander, and a separate governor in his new foundation of Alexandria at Caucasus (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 28. 3; 4. 22. 3–6). In the Successor period, at least some of these garrison commanders, acted independently of their satrapal leaders. Such divisions of authority are later found in 316 in Cyinda in the satrapy of Cilicia (Diod. 18. 62. 2), and in Susa in Susiane (Diod. 19. 17. 3; Curt. 5. 2. 16). These separations of power may be the result of actions by the various regents for Alexander's heirs, but it is more likely that these independent commanders are a carryover from the time of Alexander himself. Once Alexander left Babylon and headed east into lands with sizable Persian and Persian-related populations, apparently the newly appointed satraps were given wider authority especially with respect to finance, but treasuries and garrisons still retained independent commanders. One reason offered for the lack of separate financial officials in the East connects this absence with the presence of Persian administrators. Paying taxes is always burdensome, but paying it to "foreign" officials might be seen as too much for a former imperial people. Consequently, Alexander ever looking for ways to accomplish his goals with as little effort as possible, only used independent financial officials in the West where the inhabitants were used to paying their taxes to foreigners, that is, Persians (Griffith 1964: 38).

Alexander may have limited the authority of satraps in other provinces, but our sources have not noted these administrative matters. What does appear apparent is where non-Macedonians were appointed to administrative positions military and financial duties were often left to Macedonians and Greeks of Alexander's entourage. Many modern scholars would claim that these limitations would be a divergence from traditional Persian practice of granting satraps virtual control of all civil and military functions in their satrapies (for example, Cook 1983: 85, 173–5). Even though in Persian practice separate garrison commanders controlled troop contingents with their authority derived directly from the Great King, these individuals are seen as usually functioning as subordinates to

the satrap (Briant 2002: 66–7). There is evidence, however, that these royal officials may have had more independence than is commonly recognized and that Alexander's changes may not have been as dramatic as some have thought. Xenophon in his description of Persian administration (*Oec.* 4. 9; *Cyr.* 8. 6. 1) distinguished three sets of officials in charge respectively of administration, finance, and the military, with garrison commanders being specially mentioned as separate from the satraps and directly under the authority of the king to prevent satrapal rebellions. There may also have been some further constraints on these governors in that Persian nobles were given estates in the diaspora of the empire and expected to supply military service when called upon by the satrap or the king, but Xenophon suggests that in his time these land owners did not make an effective military force (*Xen. Cyr.* 8. 8. 20). Concrete examples of the division of power, which Xenophon indicates, are few. However, when Alexander was approaching Babylon in 331, the Persian citadel commander Bagophanes, “not to be outdone” by the satrap of Babylonia in showing his respects to Alexander had flowers and garlands spread on the road and personally brought the Macedonian king many gifts (*Curt.* 5. 1. 20–1). In Persepolis, the garrison commander and the “guardian of the royal moneys” both refused to aid the satrap of Persis, Ariobarzanes, and surrendered to Alexander (*Curt.* 5. 4. 33–4, 5. 2; *Arr. Anab.* 3. 16. 2). These incidents suggest that these separate commanders may have enjoyed more independence than is generally assumed, thus making Alexander's divisions of authority simply another adoption of Persian practice.

Where Alexander may have departed from the Persian template was in his treatment of finance, but there is too little evidence of Persian financial affairs to be certain. Here, as clearly seen in Lydia and Egypt, provinces with significant revenues, the Macedonian king created separate financial officials with independent authority to oversee the collection of tribute or contributions from respective provinces, and on at least two occasions placed the financial authority of a group of satrapies under a single regional official (Griffith 1964: 23–39). In the spring of 331, Alexander placed the financial affairs of all of Anatolia west of the Taurus under the supervision of Philoxenus, and Coeranus of Beroea was appointed to collect the tribute of Phoenicia (*Arr. Anab.* 3. 6. 4). The former's jurisdiction encompassed the provinces of Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia. This appointment then made Nicias

in Lydia subordinate to Philoxenus. These officials apparently, like so much in Alexander's administration, do not indicate some general policy that was to be applied to the entire empire, but rather a localized solution to particular problems. As Badian (1965: 169) and Bosworth (1988: 242) have noted, these areas presented unique circumstances. Phoenicia proper did have a satrap,¹¹ but was ruled by local kings in the respective cities, directly answerable to the Persian king and subsequently to Alexander. Along the coast the Greek city-states, although located in the jurisdictions of a number of satraps, also enjoyed a large measure of independence. Asia Minor and Phoenicia saw conflict after Alexander's victory at Issus. In the former, many of the survivors from the Persian side of the battle attempted a reconquest of this region (Curt. 4. 1. 34); the latter saw 8,000 more flee to Tripolis in Phoenicia enroute to Cyprus (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 13. 2–3). Especially in Asia Minor much of the territory had been bypassed by Alexander and remained independent. In Asia Minor, the assignment of a special official to collect the tribute from the various officials would relieve the satrapal ones of some of their responsibilities in the face of the on-going work of conquest. The tribute from both Asia Minor and Phoenicia would now be collected by trusted members of Alexander's entourage.

Until Alexander acquired the royal treasures of the Persians, whose acquisition alleviated all financial concerns, these other funds were necessary for the war effort, despite the appropriation of approximately 3,000 talents seized by Parmenion in Damascus (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 11. 10; Curt. 3. 13. 16). These officials were put in place just as Alexander was preparing to depart for his second and final confrontation with King Darius. They would not only coordinate the collection of tribute but also arrange for its transport to the king. With Alexander about to leave for the East, it became necessary to co-ordinate the collection, rather than have separate dispatches made to the monarch. This was the only work to be done in Phoenicia by Coeranus. But Philoxenus' appointment may have involved more than just the collection of taxes. Plutarch (*Alex.* 22. 1) refers to him as *strategos* or *hyparchos* (Plut. *Mor.* 333A) of the "coastal lands." However, this may be reflective of the power of the purse more than any direct supervisory appointment. A similar situation arose in Egypt where Cleomenes the official placed in charge of the collection of taxes (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 4) and the construction of Alexandria (Just. 13. 4. 11) was seen by later commentators as

satrap (Paus. 1. 6. 3; [Arist.] *Oec.* 2. 2. 33, 1352a16), or hyparch (Just. 13. 4. 11; Arr. *Succ.* 1. 5; *FGrH* 100 F-8). Demosthenes (Dem. 56. 7) calls him *archon*. Cleomenes in his exercise of financial oversight apparently also controlled the grain exports of Egypt. Since grain was being sold in Greek markets ([Arist.] *Oec.* 2. 2. 33, 1352a16; Dem. 56. 7), from a Greek perspective Cleomenes' power must have been seen as supreme in Egypt. A similar situation may have arisen with respect to Philoxenus. Both Coeranus and Philoxenus had apparently been Alexander's royal treasurers after the flight of Harpalus, Alexander's initial royal treasurer, who then replaced them as "custodian of the funds with Alexander" when he returned to the king (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 4).

This strange episode involved one of Alexander's long-standing "friends" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 5; Plut. *Alex.* 10. 4), who was unfit for military service and was consequently made the expedition's royal treasurer (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 6). Shortly before the Battle of Issus, Harpalus had fled to Greece with part of the treasury. While a number of explanations for the flight have been offered, the best continues to be that of Bosworth. Many expected a Persian victory; many in Greece hoped for one, and even Alexander may have expressed some anxiety over the coming conflict. As Bosworth concludes: "Little wonder, then, if the weaker spirits were tempted to desert" (1980: 284). After the wayward treasurer returned and was restored to his previous position by the forgiving Alexander, those who had served in Harpalus' absence were given the new duties of collecting the tribute from Asia Minor and Phoenicia. Harpalus would desert a second time. Having been left in Babylon, the treasurer had used funds from the treasury to live a life of extreme luxury and debauchery (Diod. 17. 108. 4; Plut. *Mor.* 648C-D; Athen. 13. 594F-595C), when he learned that Alexander had returned from the East, he again fled to Athens with 5,000 talents from the Babylonian treasury and 6,000 mercenaries (Curt. 10. 2. 1; Diod. 17. 108. 6). While the money and mercenaries aided in the later unsuccessful revolt from Macedonian authority, which occurred after Alexander's death, known as the Lamian War (Diod. 18. 9. 1), Harpalus ultimately was slain in Crete by a supposed friend (Diod. 17. 108. 8; Curt. 10. 2. 3). The entire Harpalus affair demonstrates the difficulties Alexander faced especially early in his campaign. His army and his generals were, as noted earlier, all his father's men, and his own companions untested. Of his

“friends,” Harpalus, Nearchus, Erigyus, Ptolemy (Plut. *Alex.* 10. 4), Laomedon (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 5–6), Philotas (Plut. *Alex.* 10. 3), the son of Parmenion, and Hephaestion (Curt. 3. 12. 16; Diod. 17. 114. 1–3), the king’s acknowledged other self (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 12. 6–7; Diod. 17. 37. 5–6), three were Greeks, one, Philotas, later proved a traitor, one, Harpalus, corrupt, and only Hephaestion, Ptolemy, and Philotas during the expedition commanded units of the Macedonians. Of the latter, only Philotas had a command, that of the Companion Cavalry, from the start of the campaign. There is no mention of an independent command for Ptolemy until late in 331 (Heckel 2006: 236), and clear evidence for such for Hephaestion only after the condemnation of Philotas in 330 (Heckel 2006: 133). With respect to Philotas, despite Plutarch’s description of him as one of his friends (*philoi*), during the Pixodarus affair he came with Philip when the king confronted his son, and was not exiled with Alexander’s other companions.

When Alexander departed Asia Minor, he had left behind, in addition to Antigonus Monothalmus as satrap in Greater Phrygia (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 29. 3; Curt. 3. 1. 8; Just. 13. 4. 14), Balacrus, satrap of Cilicia (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 12. 2; Diod. 18. 22. 1), Calas in Hellespontine Phrygia (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 1; 2. 4. 1; Curt. 4. 5. 13), Nearchus in Lycia–Pamphylia–Pisidia (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 6), and Asander, in Lydia (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. 7). These were all Macedonians, but he also left Sabictas, either a Persian or a native Cappadocian, in charge of southern Cappadocia (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 4. 2; Curt. 3. 4. 1; Heckel 2006: 243). However, he had left a number of areas either technically under his authority or outside of it entirely, leaving it to the satraps and forces he had left behind to deal with these. Among the latter was Ariarathes who held northern Cappadocia (Diod. 18. 16. 1),¹² Orontes, in eastern Armenia (Cook 1983: 170), and Bas, in Bithynia (*FGrH* 434 F. 12.4–5). Alexander had barely entered Cappadocia and Sabictas disappears almost immediately from the historical record and Ariarathes is later found in control of all of Cappadocia (Diod. 18. 16. 1), except for Lycaonia that Antigonus had by this time acquired (Curt. 4. 5. 13). Mithrenes, the former citadel commander in Sardis, who had surrendered the city to Alexander, was subsequently appointed satrap of Armenia (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 4; Diod. 17. 64. 6; Curt. 5. 1. 44). Like Sabictas, he apparently failed to wrest this land from its Persian commander Orontes and is subsequently lost from the historical record (Heckel

2006: 168). Nearchus was recalled in 329 and his territories were attached to Greater Phrygia (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 6; 4. 7. 2; Diod. 18. 3. 1); Bas, despite the efforts of Calas, Alexander's satrap in Hellenistic Phrygia, to remove him, remained in control of his native Bithynia (*FGrH* 434 F. 12.4–5). It is likely that Calas was defeated and, perhaps, killed by the Bithynian Bas (Briant 1989: 80; Billows 1990: 45 n. 85).

In general, these satraps were left with few forces to accomplish their respective missions. Antigonos, the One-eyed, the satrap of Greater Phrygia, was left with a force of only 1,500 mercenaries (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 29. 3), but likely acquired the 3,000 Carians and 100 Greek mercenaries who had manned the citadel for the Persians. However, Curtius (4. 1. 35) reports that “most” of the 1,500 troops were subsequently returned to Alexander. The sparse numbers likely reflect the straitened conditions of Alexander at this point, with a confrontation with the Persian king still in the offing. That Antigonos was able to maintain control of his province despite a major Persian counterattack after Alexander's victory at Issus, must have been the result of Antigonos' recruitment of native forces (Anson 1988: 475). Antigonos, Alexander's longest serving satrap, in particular, is an exemplar of Alexander's obsession with conquest, not consolidation. Much of Phrygia was left unconquered, as were most of the surrounding territories. Most of the areas left unconquered were tribal and significantly lacking in urbanization.

Alexander clearly was not out to “civilize” the world. His interest was chiefly in those lands where that chore had long preceded him. In the first year of his reign, he made a demonstration of his power against the tribal peoples on the northern frontiers of Macedonia. He had even crossed the Danube and attacked the nomadic Scythians. This campaign was not to acquire territory, but rather to inhibit aggression from these tribal peoples during his absence (Arr. 1. 1. 4–6. 8). After defeating these potential Macedonian opponents, Alexander formed alliances with many of their leaders. This last general aspect of Alexander's campaign demonstrates a fondness for the conquest of “civilized” lands (Heckel 2003: 152–9). India was known to Alexander as a populous and highly civilized land (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 25. 1). Most often Alexander simply avoided tribal areas. In this, he may have been guided by his knowledge of Persian history (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 4. 3). Twice the Persians had attempted to acquire lands associated with tribal confederacies and both times the result was disaster. In

530, Cyrus the founder of the Persian Empire met his death at the hands of the Massagetae (Hdts. 1. 214) and Darius I came close to suffering the same fate in his failed campaign into Scythia in 513 (Hdts. 4. 120–142, 7. 10a). Alexander made demonstrations against tribal groups but seldom did he attempt to subject them to his authority. As along the Danube, when Alexander crossed the Tanais (Jaxartes) in northern Bactria, and attacked the Scythians in that location (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 4. 4–5. 1; Curt. 7. 9), it was to demonstrate his power, not to acquire territory. The results of both expeditions were alliances and some submissions (Curt. 7. 9. 17–19). With respect to the Scythians across the Tanais, Alexander established on the southern side of the river Alexandria Eschate (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 1. 3, 4. 1). In the case of the Cossaeans and the Uxians, Alexander did conquer tribal areas that had not been part of the Persian Empire (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 15. 2–3; Diod. 17. 111. 4–6; Plut. *Alex.* 72. 3), but these involved special circumstances. These mountaineers controlled the lands between Susa and Persepolis. Much of his hesitancy with respect to tribal lands may have been the difficulty in pursuing peoples who were primarily nomads. The Cossaeans and the Uxians were mountaineers, while the Scythians were nomadic horsemen. Campaigns against the latter at best would be time consuming. Like his father Philip, Alexander preferred demonstrations and, where necessary, military establishments along the borders of such populations, such as Alexandria Eschate, rather than attempting to conquer them, and engage in the much longer process of settling them in permanent communities. Even though Arrian (*Anab.* 4. 1. 3) lists one of the reasons for the founding this city on the Tanais as being “well placed for a future invasion of Scythia,” no such expedition was ever carried out or planned. When Alexander returned to Babylon he contemplated further campaigns in the West, not in central Asia.

It is in Egypt that Alexander broke most clearly with Persian practice. Here, a single satrap was not appointed. It is clear that Alexander worried about the administration of such a rich province after his departure to the east. It is especially interesting that Alexander apparently did not trust his subordinates enough to leave anyone of them with such unfettered power in such a resource-rich and easily defended province (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 7). In Egypt, Alexander created a very complicated and cumbersome power structure. He initially placed two Egyptians, Doloaspis and Petisis, as supervisory nomarchs over respectively Upper and Lower Egypt, the traditional division of Egypt, but when the latter declined to serve, the former

was placed in charge of the civil administration of all of Egypt (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 2). Military and financial aspects, however, were kept in the hands of members of Alexander's military entourage (Briant 1982: 75). Balacrus, the son of Amyntas, and Peucestas, the son of Macartatus, divided the supreme military authority,¹³ but a fleet of 30 warships was under the independent command of Polemon, the son of Theramenes (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 5; Curt. 4. 8. 4); the cities of Memphis and Pelusium received independent garrisons under separate Macedonian commanders (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 5; Curt. 4. 8. 4). The mercenary settlers who had served the Persian king (Tarn 1948: I: 44; Bosworth 1988: 234) were placed under the separate command of the Aeolian Lycidas, and an unnamed companion was to be "the secretary in charge of the mercenaries," and all placed under the authority of two "overseers" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 3). What precisely were the duties of these last two officials is unclear. Financial control was placed in the hands of Cleomenes of Naucratis, the administrator of neighboring Arabia,¹⁴ who was to assess and collect the tribute from the regional nomarchs (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 5. 4; Curt. 4. 8. 5).

In his highly eclectic administration, Alexander, following Persian practice, left many native leaders who had made their submission readily to him in charge of their regions. In one case he left in charge a ruler who had resisted, but had done so in what Alexander considered a noble way. Porus, the defeated monarch of Paurava, was confirmed as king of his dominions and left without any Macedonian presence in 326 (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 19. 2–3). Among those whose surrender had been immediate was the earlier-mentioned Ada, the former native ruler of Caria, who had been turned out of office by her son-in-law Pixodarus, of the Pixodarus affair, but had remained in control of the fortress of Alinda. On Alexander's approach, she immediately surrendered the fortress to him and adopted him as her son (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 23. 7–8). But, in her case, as noted, the Macedonian Ptolemaeus had independent authority over the chief city of Halicarnassus with a garrison of 3,200 (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 23. 6). In Phoenicia, the principal cities had been ruled by their own line of kings, but subject to Persian oversight. As John Grainger (1991: 20) writes, "the relationship between Persian and Phoenician states was then partly an alliance and partly one of lord and vassal." Of these cities, even though their fleets in 332 were part of the Persian counter offensive in the Aegean (Arr. *Anab.* 2.

13. 7), all but Tyre readily surrendered to Alexander (Diod. 17. 40. 2). The son of the king of the Aradians met the Macedonian king on his march south, crowning Alexander with a golden crown and surrendering to him the island of Aradus and Marathus, the adjoining city on the mainland, "and all else that was under his control" (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 13. 7–8). The surrender of Byblos and Sidon quickly followed (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 15. 6; Curt. 4. 1. 15).

Sidon, in particular, having suffered severely at the hands of the Persians for their revolt in 344/3 (Diod. 16. 45), was surrendered by its populace (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 15. 6). At Sidon, unlike elsewhere in Phoenicia, the king was present, having been left to prepare for a siege by the Macedonians. He was deposed either by his own people or by Alexander (Diod. 17. 47. 1; Curt. 4. 1. 16), and was subsequently executed (Athen. 12. 531DE; Burstein 2007: 141). Alexander wished to continue the institution of monarchy in these cities and, consequently, in the case of Sidon, assigned the choice of a new king to Hephaestion (Curt. 4. 1. 16–26; Diod. 17. 47. 1; Just. 11. 10. 7–9).¹⁵ According to the tradition, at first Hephaestion offered the throne to either of his two Sidonian aristocratic hosts, who turned down the offer, since they were not members of the royal family. Alexander's companion then on their advice selected one Abdalonymus, a member of a collateral branch of the royal family and one who was popular with the Sidonians (Curt. 4. 1. 16–23; Diod. 17. 47; Just. 11. 10. 8). Our sources proclaim that Abdalonymus at the time of his selection for the throne was a poor laborer, appropriately "dressed in rags" (Curt. 4. 1. 22; Diod. 17. 47. 4). Many have rejected this "rags-to-riches" story, most recently Stanley Burstein (2007: 144–9), while others have attempted to rationalize it. Brian Bosworth (2003: 182–3) has translated the poor gardener into the supervisor of an extensive Persian park or garden (*paradeisos*), consequently making our poor gardener a Persian official. While the account does seem too good a story to be believed and is likely at least somewhat embellished, Abdalonymus was a "distant" relation and his "relative" poverty would be in his favor, given the popular nature of the movement that brought the city into Alexander's control. It may even be supposed that his current state had not always been the case and that he may have been on the wrong side of the earlier revolt from Persian authority in the late 340s and permitted to live but in straitened conditions. Even in the case of Tyre, which resisted Alexander and was only

taken in the seventh month of a long siege,¹⁶ the reigning monarch may have been returned to the throne (Grainger 1991: 36–8, 59), but he would have returned to a very different city. Thousands of Tyrians fell in battle with much of the remaining population sold into slavery and the sacked city left in ruins (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 24. 4–5; Curt. 4. 4. 12–19; Diod. 17. 46. 3–4), but it was resettled by Alexander with people from the surrounding area (Just. 13. 19–4. 1). Moreover, unlike in the other Phoenician cities, Alexander left Philotas (a Macedonian of unknown family [Heckel 2006: 220]) “to guard the area about Tyre” (Curt. 4. 5. 9). The other Phoenician cities were left without garrisons or Macedonian officials.

Alexander’s capture of these Phoenician cities was the capstone of one of the king’s most ambitious and dangerous gambits. The Macedonian king had early on decided not to confront the Persian, that is, Phoenician, fleet directly, fearing a possible defeat. The danger was quite real since the bulk of the “Macedonian” fleet was Athenian. To ensure no possibility of defeat or desertion, and in the midst of the Persian counterattack in the Aegean, Alexander burned his fleet in 334, boldly predicting that “he would capture the Phoenician fleet on land,” meaning that he would capture its ports and hence force its surrender (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 20. 1). With the capture of Tyre, the plan was fulfilled and the Phoenician ships surrendered to Alexander. Cyprus surrendered as did Rhodes; both areas received garrisons (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 20. 2; Curt. 4. 5. 9, 8. 12; Just. 11. 11. 1; Diod. 18. 8. 1).

Much of Alexander’s success was tied to establishing close bonds with local elites within the non-Greek populations (Briant 2002: 852, 869–70). Almost without fail he recognized local cultural and religious traditions, with the king practicing religious toleration throughout his dominions. In India, Porus, a defeated monarch, was confirmed as king of his dominions and left without any Macedonian presence (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 19. 2–3). In particular, Alexander appointed prominent Persians to positions of authority. In Babylonia, the first Persian, Mazaeus, was appointed satrap. He was followed by many more, including in the satrapies of Susiane, Persis, Paraetacene, Media, Arachosia, Areia, and Parapamisadae (see Chapter 5). As Pierre Briant relates, “Alexander was able to create the conditions for a balance between his own ambition and the [indigenous] nobility’s desire not to perish in the turmoil” (Briant 2002: 870). In general, Alexander was adept at accommodating the previous elites

by maintaining their economic and political status (Briant 2002: 842–4, 1046–60). He also readily responded to acts of unauthorized brutality or malfeasance by his officials or soldiers. In 324, after returning from his journey down the Indus and his crossing of the Gedrosian desert, he executed two of his Macedonian generals stationed in Media for crimes against the populace (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 27. 4). Additionally, 600 common soldiers were also condemned for participating in these crimes.

While it is unknown what Alexander might have done had he lived with respect to the administration of his empire, it is likely that it would have remained what it was while he lived: A mixture, primarily Persian, of whatever appeared the most expedient for the particular peoples under his rule. Indeed, one result of his pursuit of glory was his desire not to spend time on administration, but to move to the next arena as quickly as possible. It was only after Alexander's death that his later successors turned their attention to consolidation. After being thwarted in his attempt to invade India, Alexander had returned to Babylon, planning new conquests in Arabia and in the West.

5

The kingdom of Asia

In the late spring of 330, Alexander burned the Persian palace of Xerxes in Persepolis. Earlier he had permitted his troops to pillage the city from which the king proclaimed the armies that had ravaged Greece during the Great Persian War had come. Alexander's actions came about even though Persepolis, like the other Persian capital cities, had surrendered to him without resistance. The wrath wreaked on this city was the result of a major change in the direction of the Macedonian king's expedition. It was to mark the end of the war of revenge whose propaganda had carried the armies of Macedonia and symbolically all of the Greek world to victory on the Granicus, at Isus and Gaugamela. But, Alexander had no interest in calling a halt to his conquests. The assault on Persepolis was emblematic of a change in the entire focus of the expedition, and was, therefore, a more complicated act than simply to avenge those Greeks who had been killed, and those temples desecrated and destroyed over 150 years in the past.

One indication of the symbolic nature of this assault was that this was a far more limited destruction than that found at Thebes, as seen in the fact that this Persian city is soon after not only found to be inhabited, but serving as a satrapal capital (Diod. 19. 21. 2, 22. 1, 46. 6).¹ Indeed, the archaeological evidence suggests that the three main buildings burned were those closely associated with Xerxes (Sancisi-Weerdenberg 1993: 181–2). The cause of the destruction is more complicated than that of Thebes. After Gaugamela, Persian resistance had collapsed relatively quickly. The narrow pass separating Uxiana from Susiane, was briefly blocked (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 17. 1–6; Curt. 5. 3. 4–15; Diod. 17. 67. 4–5),² and the pass, known as the “Persian Gates,” though initially vigorously defended with

Alexander being forced to retreat from a direct assault, in the end with the help of a prisoner, Alexander led his men behind the Persian position and the pass was turned (Curt. 5. 3. 17–4. 34; Diod. 17. 68; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 2–9). Susa had prior to the battle in the Persian Gates surrendered without resistance and was left unplundered (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 6; Curt. 5. 2. 8–16; Diod. 17. 65. 5). While there was initial resistance in Persepolis, this had disappeared by the time of Alexander's arrival and the king occupied this second Persian capital again without opposition (Curt. 5. 5. 2, 6. 2; Diod. 17. 69. 1; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 10). However, despite what appears to be a peaceful surrender, Alexander permitted his troops to sack the city, with the exception of the palace (Curt. 5. 6. 1–8; Diod. 17. 70). The men were killed, the city plundered, and the women carried off into slavery. Curtius (5. 6. 1) has Alexander earlier proclaim to a council of his generals that Persepolis, "the city from which troops without number had poured forth, from which first Darius and then Xerxes had waged an unholy war on Europe. To appease the spirits of their forefathers they should wipe it out." Certainly the theme of revenge is offered by the sources as an explanation for both the initial plundering of the city and the later destruction of the palace (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 12; Diod. 17. 70. 2, 72. 6; Curt. 5. 6. 1; Str. 15. 3. 6).

Two apparently very different accounts of the burning of the palace occur in our sources: The first making the burning a spontaneous consequence of excessive drinking and at the urging of a courtesan (Diod. 17. 72; Curt. 5. 7. 2–7; Plut. *Alex.* 38. 3–4); the second, a deliberate act by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 11). As Gene Borza (1972: 235), however, points out, these two seemingly different explanations may simply be variations on the same account: "It only means that Arrian's source was concerned about the larger context of the act, while the other traditions stem from eyewitness accounts which were interested in human byplay." Our sources all attribute the destruction to the Panhellenic theme of revenge, but modern commentators have suggested more elaborate goals. Waldemar Heckel (2009: 40) contends that Alexander was placating his Greek allies, and Pierre Briant (2002: 851) maintains that this act was meant for a Persian audience. Given the many attempts by Alexander to win over the Persians, the latter explanation makes this appear a curious deed, and, perhaps, even gives some credence to the tales of a *kômos* (a procession often of the inebriated) gone bad. But, Briant (2002: 852) argues that the

destruction was a message to recalcitrant Persians that their time was over unless they accepted the new regime. Darius was still alive and further resistance was expected. Other hypotheses predicated on the burning being a deliberate act have been offered by modern commentators. Ernst Fredricksmeier (2000: 149) in a variation of an older theme that Alexander wished to proclaim a new regime, not a continuation of the Achaemenid one (Tarn 1951: 1: 54; Wirth 1971: 149–52; Borza 1972: 243), states that this was an attack on the religious center of the Persian Empire³ and a demonstration that Alexander's kingship would not be a continuation of Persian kingship. Alexander was to be the "King of Asia," not the Great King of the Persian Empire, the intercessor between the world and Ahuramazda (Fredricksmeier 2000: 136–66; Briant 2002: 240–1). Diodorus (17. 17. 2) has Alexander upon landing on Asian soil claiming "Asia," and Plutarch (*Alex.* 34. 1) also states that after Gaugamela he was proclaimed King of Asia. That these may not have been titles subsequently given by our later sources, is shown in the Lindian Chronicle's reference to a dedication of a caltrops made by Alexander after the Battle of Gaugamela, inscribed from "King Alexander having overcome in battle Darius and becoming Lord of Asia" (Higbie 2003: 40: 41). Persepolis, the ceremonial capital, epitomized Achaemenid power. But, despite the claims of the later Sassanid sources, the evidence would suggest that Alexander did not engage in an attack on Persia's traditional religion. Magi shared responsibilities with Greek priests present at the famous banquet at Opis (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 8).

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1993: 184–5) claims Persepolis was destroyed to end all connection between the former Persian central government and the satrapies, but Alexander was now the central government. It is even possible that the destruction of the capital may have been in part the result of Alexander's anger at the discovery of the mutilated Greeks who met him on the road to Persepolis (Curt. 5. 5. 5–24; Diod. 17. 69. 2–9; Just. 11. 14. 11–12). These Greeks had been transported to the heart of Persia at the command of various Persian kings, enslaved, and all had been mutilated, some lacking hands, some feet, others noses and ears (Curt. 5. 5. 6; Diod. 17. 69. 3–4; Just. 11. 14. 11). They asked to be avenged, and while given the opportunity to return to their Western homes, ultimately they chose to stay, and were given land, cattle, sheep, seed, and exemption from all taxes by Alexander (Curt. 5. 5.

24; Diod. 17. 69. 8; Just. 11. 14. 12). Diodorus (17. 71. 3) does relate that Alexander had almost a visceral hatred for the inhabitants of Persepolis and wished to destroy the city. Alexander may also have been reacting to his growing frustration. Twice he apparently had Darius within his grasp after major victories in battle and twice the Persian king had escaped. At Issus, Darius had fled on horseback, leaving "his chariot, his shield, mantle, and his bow." Only the onset of night saved him from capture by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 11. 5–6). At Gaugamela, Alexander's pursuit was again delayed by the distress of his left wing which was in danger of annihilation (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 14. 3–15. 2).

It is certainly possible that the destruction was a deliberate act meant to send many messages. That the burning of the palace occurred on Alexander's return to Persepolis after he had pacified the countryside (Curt. 5. 6. 12–20) and was preceded by the pillaging which occurred on his initial arrival in the city, a calamity which Susa did not suffer, along with the subsequent moving of the treasury from Persepolis to Susa (Diod. 17. 71. 2), are evidence that Alexander had decided on making a statement with respect to Persepolis alone. Alexander needed some dramatic recompense for the evils inflicted on the Greeks by the Persians to end the proclaimed war of revenge (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 12) and to prepare for a new day where the Persians would become partners in his new "Kingdom of Asia." This would account for one of the curiosities of Alexander's general campaign of accommodation with respect to conquered peoples. In Lydia, in Egypt, and in Babylonia, he had played the role of a traditional monarch, reestablishing the national laws and practices, sacrificing to native gods and placating local political and religious elites, and even permitting himself to be seen in the guise of a traditional ruler, such as pharaoh, king of the world, and so on. This was not the case in Persia. The true king of Persia, similar to the Macedonian Argead tradition of rule, needed proper descent within the Achaemenid family (Gnoli 1974: 163–73; Collins 2008: 104–5). Alexander never made such a claim of descent, nor given the circumstances was he ever likely to do so. Even though Alexander adopted many aspects of the Persian court, his original propaganda limited the roles he could play in a Persian context. To become the "Great King" to the Persians would call into question the whole purpose of the war. Alexander had sufficient opposition to all of his policies where he attempted to reconcile his Macedonians with

the Persians. Becoming “King of Asia” would acknowledge the end of the Achaemenid Persian Empire and at the same time permit Alexander to experiment with his policy of reconciliation.

Such a reconciliation was for Alexander necessary. The Persians had the experience of rule and had formed the backbone of the Achaemenid army. These were resources the “King of Asia” would need, and maybe more importantly could not leave to be exploited by others. The complication would be the transition from Persian enemies to Persian allies and friends (Plut. *Alex.* 47. 5–8). The focus of the war would now change from one of revenge to one of simple conquest. Not long after the burning of the palace in Persepolis, on arriving in Ecbatana in Media and learning that Darius was incapable of mounting a counter-offensive and was again in flight, Alexander dismissed the allied contingents from his army (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 19. 4–5).⁴ He did, however, offer to enroll as mercenaries any of the allies who wished to continue and a great many did so (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 19. 6). Darius’ death followed (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 21. 10; Curt. 5. 13. 15–25; Diod. 17. 73. 2) and with it the subsequent surrender of the last remnants of the dead Achaemenid’s army. As opposed to the rebel and murderer Bessus who moved on to Bactria, proclaiming himself Artaxerxes V (Curt. 6. 6. 13; Diod. 17. 74. 2), these forces under the command of Artabanus, including Greek mercenaries, being unable to stop the actions of Bessus and his supporters had fled into the mountains (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 21. 4). These troops and their commander later surrendered to Alexander unconditionally. Artabanus and his sons became part of Alexander’s entourage. Of the 1,500 Greek mercenaries those who had joined the Persians before the League of Corinth and the Common Peace were set free; those who had joined after the creation of the Greek alliance were enrolled in the Macedonian’s ranks as mercenaries (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 23. 7–9, 24. 4–5). These Greek adherents of the Persian cause were treated with far more leniency than those captured on the Granicus who were sent to hard labor in Macedonia (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 16. 6). Later, at Oxus in 329 those Thessalians who had enlisted as mercenaries along with older Macedonians no longer fit for service were sent home (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 29. 5). Nothing could be more demonstrative that the war of revenge was over.

While the conquest of Asia was always part of the propaganda, it was secondary to the revenge and freedom motifs. This is, of course, partially contra historical, since the Macedonians had been allies,

if not subjects (Hdts. 5. 18), of the Persians at the time of the great Persian invasion of 480–479. Argead propaganda did, however, emphasize the reluctance on the part of King Alexander I to serve the Persians, and his desire to help the Greek cause. While his father Amyntas yet ruled, Alexander is reported to have murdered a group of rude Persian envoys (Hdts. 5. 18–20), and when king in his own right, he had advised the Greeks to abandon their doomed attempt to block the Persian advance at the Vale of Tempe (Hdts. 7. 173) and had informed them prior to the Battle of Plataea of Mardonius' plans (Hdts. 9. 45). At Issus, according to Curtius (3. 10. 5), Alexander had encouraged many of these same Macedonians by proclaiming that they would subdue "all the races of the earth" and "Bactria and India would be Macedonian provinces." During the *proskynesis* episode (see Chapter 3) in 327 in Bactria, Callisthenes is reported to have said: "Alexander, remember Greece, for whose sake this entire expedition has taken place, *to add Asia to Greece*" [*italics are mine*] (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 11. 7). This echo of Isocrates may explain why in the words of Parmenion, that in burning Persepolis, Alexander was destroying "his own property" (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 19. 11). Now, Alexander would defer to his second tier propaganda; he would sell his war as the acquisition of wealth and territory, the creation of his Kingdom of Asia. The pillaging of Persepolis (Curt. 5. 6. 1–8; Diod. 17. 70) was then also a part of a new campaign to win his troops over by means of largesse. On the Hyphasis in 326, in an attempt to secure his Macedonians' acquiescence to a further advance, he had promised among other things riches and booty (Curt. 9. 2. 27; Arr. *Anab.* 5. 26. 8); later, Alexander had permitted them to plunder Indian lands (Diod. 17. 94. 3–5, 104. 5–7). Such promises are those commonly made to mercenaries. In the campaign of the 10,000 in 401 the most effective pledge that Cyrus or his subordinate commanders made to the troops to secure their support was that of greater rewards (Xen. *Anab.* 1. 4. 12–13, 7. 2). If the purpose of the pillaging of the city and the burning of the palace in Persepolis was meant to change the attitudes of his Macedonians and Greek mercenaries, it was not a successful policy. The troops later viewed the death of the Persian king in 330 as the end of the campaign in Asia (Diod. 17. 74. 3), and consequently, on the strength of a rumor that Alexander was planning to return to Macedonia, the troops with exuberance prepared for the homeward march (Curt. 6. 2. 15–17). It was only with difficulty that Alexander

won them back for further campaigning (Curt. 6. 2. 15–4. 1; Diod. 17. 74. 3–4; Plut. *Alex.* 47. 1–4; Just. 12. 3. 2–4). On the Hyphasis in 326, the troops through their actions indicated their displeasure with an advance further east into India and the campaign was abandoned (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 23. 1–29. 1; Diod. 17. 93. 2–94. 4; Curt. 9. 2. 8–10).⁵

The Greek mercenaries likewise were not receptive to Alexander's new policies, which meant that many of them were to be left permanently in Asia as members of the many garrisons scattered about the Macedonian king's empire, or as the residents of his city foundations. In 326/325, when Alexander was rumored to be dead, 3,000 "Greeks," who had been settled in Bactria and Sogdiana, "revolted from the Macedonians" and began their successful march home (Diod. 17. 99. 5–6; Curt. 9. 7. 1–11). After Alexander's death, a force of 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry abandoned their homes in central Asia with the intent, like the colonists in 326/5, of marching back to Greece (Diod. 18. 17. 2; Chapter 4).

With the end of the war of revenge, Alexander continued his rapprochement with his former enemies. While this was necessary, it was perilous on many levels. That it was necessary is obvious from the expanse of the empire already in 330 and the extent of Alexander's ambitions. Macedonian resources would be strained attempting to conquer and hold down so much of the world. While Greek resources would certainly have stemmed much of this expenditure of Macedonian manpower, Alexander from his actions was not entirely sanguine with his Greek forces. His destruction of his own fleet in 334 (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 20. 1) could imply some distrust of his Greek allies (so Hamilton 1974: 60; Heckel 2009: 31; contra: Bosworth 1980B: 143). In Alexander's major battles, Greek forces, except for the Thessalian and certain other Greek cavalry units, had been used sparingly. The Thessalian and Peloponnesian cavalries fought well on the Granicus (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 14. 3, 16. 1–2; Diod. 17. 19. 6, 21. 4), at Issus, holding back the Persian left wing (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 8. 1, 11. 2; Curt. 3. 11. 14; Diod. 17. 33. 6), and at Gaugamela (Diod. 17. 57. 3–4; Curt. 4. 13. 29, 16. 1–7; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 11. 10). There is no record of any involvement by the 7,000 allied Greek hoplites included in the force that crossed to Asia with Alexander (Diod. 17. 17. 3). At Gaugamela, they may have been stationed with the 7,000 mercenaries who formed a reserve phalanx (Bosworth 1980B: 210–1). Most of Alexander's mercenaries found themselves,

by the time of his death, distributed throughout the empire in the various garrisons and cities.

Brian Bosworth (1986: 9; contra Billows 1995: 184–9, 196) has argued that the drain that was placed on Macedonian manpower by the demands made on it by Alexander denuded Macedonia of roughly 30,000 men, a demographic decline from which, Bosworth declares, Macedonia never recovered. Alexander took 12,000 Macedonian infantry initially with him to Asia along with 1,800 Macedonian cavalry (Diod. 17. 17. 3–4), leaving behind in Macedonia, 1,500 cavalry and 12,000 infantry with the regent Antipater (Diod. 17. 17. 5). There was also an advance force of roughly 10,000 men already in Asia (Diod. 16. 91. 2; Just. 9. 5. 8; Polyæn. 5. 44. 4), but its composition is unknown. Between Alexander's crossing to Asia and his departure from Media, after which no new Macedonian arrivals are reported, 9,000 additional Macedonians left Europe for Asia and Alexander. In 333, 3,000 infantry arrived from the homeland (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 29. 4; see *FGrH* 124 F-35= Polyb. 12. 19. 2); in 331, 6,000 Macedonian foot joined Alexander (Curt. 5. 1. 40; Diod. 17. 65. 1; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 10).⁶ Given that it is doubtful that our sources have indicated all such reinforcements, the numbers that are referenced are impressive. Antipater, in 330, amassed a force of 40,000 for his war against Agis (Diod. 17. 63. 1), but the regent's force was likely dominated by Macedonia's allies. Curtius (6. 1. 16) lists 1,000 Macedonians killed in the battle before Megalopolis out of a total of 3,500 deaths among Antipater's forces (Diod. 17. 63. 3).⁷ At Chaeronea, Philip's army contained "not less than 2,000 cavalry" and "more than 30,000 infantry" (Diod. 16.85.5). These were mostly Macedonian troops. While it is mentioned by Diodorus that Philip waited for the arrival of his allies (Diod. 16. 85. 5), no other forces are indicated during the actual battle in the Macedonian ranks, and it is to be assumed that these awaited allies were likely cavalry only, with the infantry being exclusively Macedonian. This number would correspond roughly with the numbers given by Diodorus for the infantries of the two armies headed by Antipater and Alexander at the start of the expedition. At the start of the Lamian War in 323, Antipater had 13,000 Macedonian infantry and 600 cavalry (Diod. 18. 12. 2). This force is 1,000 more Macedonian infantry than had been left behind by Alexander in 334, but 900 fewer Macedonian cavalry (Diod. 17. 17. 5). In the Successor period, in 318, Polyperchon,

Antipater's successor as regent, was able to raise an army of 20,000 Macedonian infantry for his invasion of Attica (Diod. 18. 68. 3), given that Cassander, Antipater's son and Polyperchon's rival for control of Macedonia, was seeking allies to replace him, a sizable Macedonian force was probably left in Macedonia to defend against any possible invasion. Cassander, in 302, was able to muster 29,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry (Diod. 20. 110. 4). While in the case of the latter the ethnic composition of the force is not specified, yet, Cassander had placed most of his mercenaries in garrisons, so the overwhelming majority of these must have been Macedonians. The fact that Cassander could raise a force of such a size at a time when part of Macedonia's eligible men were serving with other dynasts indicates that the homeland was not denuded of men by Alexander's campaigns. The dramatic decline envisioned by Bosworth then did not take place. Disease and/or climate change affect population numbers far more dramatically than war (Scheidel 2003: 121). Such changes affect the entire population, including women and children, whereas Alexander's conflicts in Asia only affected men in the prime of life. However, 30,000 or even 40,000 Macedonian troops would be insufficient for the grandiose plans envisioned by Alexander.

Large numbers of Iranians had proven themselves loyal to Alexander. Among those joining his court was Darius III's brother, Oxyathres, who became both a *hetairos* and a bodyguard (*somatophylax*) (Plut. *Alex.* 43. 7; Curt. 6. 2. 11; 7. 5. 40; Diod. 17. 77. 4). Sigygambis, the mother of both Oxyarthres and Darius III, became almost a second mother to Alexander (Curt. 3. 12. 17; 5. 2. 22; Just. 13. 1. 5). When she heard of Alexander's death, she believed she had lost another son and starved herself to death (Just. 13. 1. 5–6; Curt. 10. 5. 19–25; Diod. 17. 118. 3). On the march from Babylon to Bactria, Alexander appointed satraps who were almost exclusively Persian. The one great exception was the Parthian Amminapes who briefly held the satrapies of Parthia and Hyrcania (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 22. 1; Curt. 6. 4. 25), but was replaced by the previous satrap and Persian Phrataphernes (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 28. 2; 5. 20. 7; Curt. 8. 3. 17). Alexander first appointed a Persian as satrap in Babylonia in 331, where Mazaeus, the former Persian satrap, had freely surrendered the city and province to the Macedonian king (Curt. 5. 1. 17–19; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 4), later in 331, he dispatched Mithrines, the former citadel commander in Susa, to conquer Armenia, which he apparently failed to accomplish (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 5; Diod. 17. 64.

6; Curt. 5. 1. 44); as satrap of Susiane, he reappointed the former Persian satrap, Abulites (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 9); in Persis, Phrasaortes was made satrap (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 11), but died of illness and was ultimately replaced by the Macedonian Peucestas (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 30. 2), a companion noted for his adoption of "Persian ways" (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 30. 3)⁸; Oxathres, as satrap of Paraetacene (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 19. 2; Curt. 5. 2. 8–9); Oxydates, satrap of Media (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 20. 3; Curt. 6. 2. 11); Astaspes, in Carmania (Curt. 9. 10. 29); Autophradates, satrap of the Tapurians and the Mardians (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 23. 7, 24. 3; Curt. 6. 4. 25, 5. 21); Satibarzanes, in Areia (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 25. 1; Curt. 6. 6. 20), but he revolted and was replaced by another Persian, Arsaces (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 25. 7); Proexes, Parapamisadae (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 28. 4), replaced in 327 by Tyriespes (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 22. 5), and he in turn by Oxyartes in 325 (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 15. 3). Where Persians were appointed as satraps, they were all likely accompanied by Macedonian or Greek officers in charge of military contingents. In those cases where no such appointments are mentioned, it is likely that these were oversights on the part of our sources. For example, in the cases of Oxydates, Arsaces, and Artabazus there are no references to separate military commanders or revenue officials, but that does not necessarily mean they were not appointed. Of course, it could also mean that these Persians were especially trusted by Alexander.

As part of his plan of amalgamation, Alexander's court ceremony had acquired many Persian touches, such as wearing a diadem and Median costume (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 7. 4, 9. 9; Curt. 6. 4–8; Diod. 17. 77. 5; Just. 12. 3. 8). Plutarch (*Alex.* 45. 1–2) states that Alexander first assumed Persian clothing while in Parthia after the Hyrcanian expedition in autumn 330. He also began to incorporate not only Persians in his administration, but also into his army. It is unclear if this was begun only in central Asia, or if our sources have simply refrained from mentioning any earlier recruitments. Antigonos, the satrap of Phrygia, was apparently the first Macedonian who recognized the value of native forces (Anson 1988: 475). At the Battle at Gaugamela in 331, there is no reference to Asiatic troops in Alexander's army (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 12; Diod. 17. 57; Curt. 4. 13. 26–31). It does appear likely that the recruitment of these non-Greek forces began either in Bactria where we have the first evidence (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 17. 3), or, perhaps, earlier in Susiane or Persis, but in Bactria is the most likely. The policy was part of

Alexander's new role after Persepolis as King of Asia, no longer simply King of Macedonia and Hegemon of Greece. The truth in Tarn's claim that Alexander wished to create an amalgamation of races is that Alexander would become the common employer and master of all (Bosworth 1988: 273). Unity was in all peoples' obedience to Alexander. Prior to leaving Bactria, Alexander ordered the satraps and leaders in the new cities he had founded to recruit 30,000 young men, the "*Epigoni*," to be taught Greek and trained in Macedonian warfare (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 1; Curt. 8. 5. 1; Diod. 17. 108. 1–2; Plut. *Alex.* 47. 3, 71. 1). In 327, these troops joined him in Susa (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 1).

While Alexander's program of recruiting Persians for his new empire enjoyed a number of significant successes, it also faced difficulties. In the Persian heartland of Susiane and Persis there was little resistance after Gaugamela. The narrow pass separating Uxiana from Susiane, was briefly blocked (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 17. 1–6; Curt. 5. 3. 4–15; Diod. 17. 67. 4–5),⁹ as were the "Persian Gates" (Curt. 5. 3. 17–4. 34; Diod. 17. 68; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 2–9). Susa (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 6; Curt. 5. 2. 8–16; Diod. 17. 65. 5) and Persepolis (Curt. 5. 5. 2, 6. 2; Diod. 17. 69. 1; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 18. 10) had both surrendered without opposition. In the spring of 330, Alexander with 1,000 cavalry and a unit of light infantry had engaged in a brief but effective campaign in the Zagros mountains (Curt. 5. 6. 12). Most of the Persian nobility had deserted their defeated national monarch and had made their peace with Alexander, the short-lived revolt of Satibarzanes notwithstanding. This Persian nobleman, in 330, had surrendered his satrapy of Areia to Alexander and had subsequently been confirmed in this province by the Macedonian (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 25. 1; Curt. 6. 6. 20). When Alexander moved on, he revolted murdering the escort that had been supplied by his new king (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 25. 2). He was defeated in battle and died fighting in single combat against Alexander's *hetairoi* Erigyius (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 28. 3; Curt. 7. 4. 33–7, 40; Diod. 17. 83. 4–6). This revolt was a harbinger of things to come. Even though Alexander had experienced few problems in the Persian heartland, there were problems aplenty awaiting in Bactria and Sogdiana.

In 329, when Alexander first crossed the Hindu Kush into Bactria, he encountered little resistance. Bessus had been unable to unite the Bactrian nobility behind his authority. The Bactrian cavalry abandoned him as Alexander approached, and Alexander was able to enter the

satrapal capital, Bactra, without striking a blow (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 28. 8–29. 7; Curt. 7. 4. 20–22, 32–40, 5. 1–18). In fact, Bessus was surrendered to Alexander by his former supporters (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 30. 3–5; Curt. 7. 5. 19–26). Earlier, Alexander had proclaimed that his quarrel was with Bessus and he now rewarded all those who had surrendered the self-proclaimed King of Kings. Alexander now left what he assumed was a pacified province and proceeded onto India. As Bosworth has noted, the conquest “had been deceptively easy” (Bosworth 1988: 107). Clearly, this revolt showed that there were many in central Asia who were not that accepting of Alexander’s rule.

Within weeks of Bessus’ capture, a revolt erupted with the massacre of a Macedonian garrison. The causes of this insurrection are multiple. First, Bactria and Sogdiana were closely associated with the Persians and with the Persian religion Zoroastrianism. These regions, then, would not see Alexander as a liberator. The satraps of Bactria had often been members of the royal family, who typically operated with great autonomy and popularity. The land had frequently supplied royal pretenders to the Persian throne, backed by the forces of the province (Holt 1995: 39–43; Briant 2002: 76). Even though the satrap appointed by Alexander was Persian, he was not one of those who had surrendered Bessus, but rather a Persian with no previous connection to Bactria (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 29. 1; Curt. 7. 5. 1). Alexander here as opposed to elsewhere did not accommodate himself to the local elite, but by his actions left them very suspicious of his intentions. Second, Alexander was imposing greater control than had been the case under the Achaemenids (Smith 2009/10: 64). Alexander established a city, the future Alexandria Eschate, on the southern bank of the Tanais River, apparently as a buffer between the agricultural communities of Bactria and the nomads of the north (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 1. 3; Curt. 7. 6. 13; Holt 1995: 30–2, 55–9). He had already garrisoned many of the “cities” in the area (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 1. 4). The presence of the new city in particular meant a permanent settlement of outsiders and the annexation of prime agricultural land for these new residents (Bosworth 1990: 257). Many of the indigenous population may even have acquired the status of serfs in this settlement, similar to that of the *laoi* in the later Hellenistic kingdoms (Billows 1995: 122, 171; Holt 1995: 64).

This revolt took two years to suppress. When it erupted, Alexander’s first reaction was, given his previous history, predictable. Near

Maracanda, the capital of Sogdiana, after an attack on a Macedonian foraging party, Alexander demonstrated how he dealt with defiance by massacring 22,000 of those associated with the attackers (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 30. 10–11; Curt. 7. 6. 1–10). Later, he destroyed a number of rebel fortresses, slaughtering the male survivors and enslaving the women and children (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 2. 4–3. 5; Curt. 7. 6. 16–27). Some captured “rebels” were whipped and then crucified (Curt. 7. 11. 28). Since he could not bring his opponents to fight a decisive battle, Alexander continued to rely on retaliation as a means of suppressing the revolt. After a Macedonian force sent to relieve a rebel siege of the citadel at Maracanda was defeated and over 2,000 killed,¹⁰ Alexander arrived on the scene, ravaged the country, and killed those in the neighboring villages as supporters of the enemy (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 6. 5). The lands of the slaughtered were given to those who had allied with the Macedonians (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 16. 3).

In 328, Alexander divided his forces into five flying columns to chase his opponents (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 16. 2–3; Curt. 8. 1. 1), placing garrisons in every Bactrian and Sogdian town (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 17. 4), thus leaving his enemies no home base and forcing them at every opportunity into the desert. To cope with local rural support for the insurgents, Alexander ordered his troops to burn the fields and kill all those of military age (Curt. 7. 9. 22). One result of this drastic policy was that the peasants no longer offered sanctuary to the rebels (Curt. 8. 2. 15). The insurgent troops having lost local support began to lose heart. Indeed, it was during one of these pursuits into the desert that certain of his allies (the Massagetae) cut off the head of the leader of the revolt, Spitamenes, and sent it to Alexander as a way of placating their attacker (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 17. 7; Str. 11. 11. 6).¹¹

Alexander now began to change his tactics. Already in 328 he was recruiting Bactrian and Sogdian cavalry into his forces (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 17. 3), and large numbers are later found in Alexander's army in India (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 11. 3, 12. 2).¹² In the spring of 327,¹³ after taking the fortress, called “the Rock of Sogdiana,” (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 18. 4–5), those who surrendered were not slaughtered or enslaved but spared, despite the notice in Curtius (7. 11. 28–29). One of the captives from the Sogdian Rock was Roxane the daughter of a prominent Sogdian nobleman, Oxyartes (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 19. 4–5, 20. 4). Alexander subsequently married the Sogdian princess (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 19. 5), forming an alliance with her father.¹⁴ Oxyartes

then helped secure the capture of the “Rock of Choriene,” where again the inhabitants were spared (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 21. 1–9; Curt. 8. 2. 19–33). After almost two years of brutal repression, these alliances with many of the nobles brought the revolt to an end. The costs, however, were horrific. When Alexander left for India it is estimated that over 100,000 Bactrians and Sogdians, including women and children, were dead (Holt 2005: 107). Seven thousand Macedonians also died, a total that was greater than that suffered in any previous campaign (Holt 2003: 14; 2005: 107). Alexander had been seriously wounded (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 3. 3; Curt. 7. 6. 22) and for the first time the vaunted Macedonian army had suffered a serious defeat. While operating in the north against the Sacae tribesmen, the king had sent a force consisting of 860 cavalry, including 60 Macedonian companions and 1,500 infantry (or possibly 3,000 [Curt. 7. 6. 24]) into the south of Sogdiana under the command of Caranus, Andronicus, and Menedemus. This force had been ambushed and virtually destroyed by Spitamenes (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 3. 7, 5. 3–9, 6. 2; Curt. 7. 7. 31–9). When Alexander withdrew from Bactria he left a garrison of 10,000 infantry and 3,500 cavalry behind with the satrap likely in the capital Bactra (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 22. 3), what one historian has called, “the largest defense force in the empire” (Bosworth 1988: 238), but it is clear that additional troops were positioned in other communities. Overall the occupying force was well over 20,000.

Where Alexander had been deft in his handling of other regions, accounting for local customs and traditions, he appears to have lost his way in Bactria and Sogdiana. But Alexander was dealing at this point with multiple problems in addition to his desire to move on to India. His policy of amalgamating his Macedonians with his new Persian and Asiatic subjects, began to unravel in Bactria and Sogdiana.

There was developing dissension within his own Macedonian ranks with respect to his plan to create an empire that included the resources of the Iranian peoples. They were not so open in sharing the results of their victories with the defeated. In particular, these *hetairoi* and *pezhetairoi* were not willing to see their traditional relationship with their king become one of subjects to an absolute ruler. It should come as no surprise that so many incidents described as conspiracies or serious disagreements arose in central Asia. It was here where the first attempts were made to create “The Kingdom

of Asia.” It was here that Alexander experienced his first serious military setback, and it was here far from home and the restraints of home that Alexander, highly influenced by the platitudes of his flatterers, began more and more to see himself as more than simply chosen by the gods or the benefactor of a most munificent fate. The son of Zeus had come to see himself as so much more.

The first indication of serious problems in the ranks of Alexander’s own Macedonians arose in Phrada in Drangiana. Here a conspiracy was uncovered involving a number of Macedonians. Dimnus, a Macedonian *hetairos* of Alexander’s, although described by Curtius as of “slight influence or favor” (Curt. 6. 7. 1), “found fault with the king for some reason, and in a rash fit of anger formed a plot against him” (Diod. 17. 79. 1; Plut. *Alex.* 49. 3; Curt. 6. 7. 1–6). Most of the conspirators were apparently not very highly placed at court (Heckel 2007: 108). Of the named conspirators only Demetrius, a *somatophylax*, appears to have held a significant position (Curt 6. 7. 15; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 27. 5). The reason for the plot is not specified, except, perhaps, obliquely. Justin (12. 5. 2–3) mentions that during this time Alexander was greatly criticized for “having repudiated the way of his father, Philip, and of his country.” The importance of the conspiracy rests in its aftermath. The plot was revealed to Philotas, the son of Parmenion and the commander of the Companion cavalry, but who never passed on the information to Alexander, or to anyone else. Philotas was later charged with conspiracy and after a show trial, executed (Curt. 6. 9. 1–7. 2. 39; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 26. 1–3; Diod. 17. 7–80; Plut. *Alex.* 48–9). The death of his father Parmenion was subsequently ordered. Philotas’ and Parmenion’s deaths have become the center for a wide variety of hypotheses, the central feature of which is the actual guilt of the former. These various interpretations have ranged from Philotas as a part of the conspiracy to murder Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 26. 1; Lane Fox 1973: 286–9) to his being the object of a conspiracy himself by a number of Macedonian rivals (Plut. *Alex.* 48. 6–49. 1; Heckel 1977: 13–21), or by Alexander himself (Just. 12. 5. 2; Badian 1968: 192–205; 2000: 65–9). While it is likely that Philotas’ enemies chose this moment to eliminate a rival, the son of Parmenion put himself in this position. A plot against the king, especially given Macedonia’s long history of royal assassinations, was to be taken seriously. Only two Macedonian kings in the fourth century prior to Alexander had not been assassinated: Philip’s father Amyntas III

and Philip's brother Perdikkas III, the latter died fighting against the Illyrians.

To ignore any intimation of a plot should call into question the motives of the reticent individual. Arguments that Philotas did not take the plot seriously borders on the ludicrous. The more likely explanation is the one offered by Bosworth (1988: 101–4; 1980B: 360–1) that Philotas may not have been one of the conspirators but was sympathetic to its purpose and consequently did not reveal it. According to Curtius (6. 9. 17), Philotas was implicated in a plot to kill Alexander soon after the death of Philip, but remained Alexander's friend and *hetairos* (Curt. 7. 1. 27–8). Evidence exists that Philotas was not pleased with Alexander being proclaimed the son of Zeus (Curt. 6. 9. 28), and “under torture” stated that he and his father Parmenion had plotted to kill the king after the death of Darius (Curt. 6. 11. 23–9). Such testimony is obviously of dubious validity for a whole host of reasons. But, even though after implicating himself and his father in this earlier plot, he still denied any pre-knowledge of the conspiracy of Dimnus before it was revealed to him (Curt. 6. 11. 30). Philotas was arrogant given to braggadocia (Plut. *Alex.* 48. 1–3). He would have been exactly the type of Macedonian aristocrat who would have had serious issues with Alexander's pretensions. While Diodorus (17. 80. 1) and Curtius (6. 11. 39) have Parmenion convicted by the same assembly that found Philotas guilty, Arrian, following Ptolemy (*Anab.* 3. 26. 4), relates that Parmenion was executed on Alexander's authority alone, either because he could not believe that he had not been involved in the conspiracy, or because the father might react violently to the death of his son. Badian (1960: 324–38) argues that the death of Parmenion was the ultimate goal of Alexander in the arrest and trial of Philotas. However, the sons of Andromenes, whose close connection to Philotas brought them also under suspicion, were ultimately acquitted (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 27. 1–3; Curt. 7. 1. 10–2. 10).

The Lyncestian Alexander, one of the sons of Aëropus, was executed shortly after the death of Philotas (Curt. 7. 1. 5–9; Diod. 17. 80. 2; Just. 12. 14. 1). He had been implicated in a Persian plot to kill Alexander shortly before Issus and placed under arrest, but not tried until three years later.¹⁵ These trials indicate both that Alexander was reacting to his frustration and to the growing discontent among his troops. As noted in Chapter 1, assemblies were not the normal mechanism for dealing with treason. They are

here being used because of Alexander's deteriorating relationship with his army. He was literally testing his authority. Malcolm Errington (1978: 89–90) has argued convincingly of Alexander's need to test his "*auctoritas*" before exercising his "*potestas*." Philotas commanded the Companion Cavalry, and his father Parmenion had great prestige and a large army under his command in Media (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 11. 8; Curt. 7. 3. 4). Certainly in the case of Parmenion this was a commander popular with the troops. Curtius (6. 11. 39) comments that unless Parmenion and Philotas had been shown to be guilty, they could not have been condemned "without the indignation of the whole army."

The relationship between Alexander and his Macedonians only became worse in Bactria. Bactria not only witnessed the first serious revolt of once-conquered territories but it was also here that in a drunken argument Alexander killed the very man who had saved his life at Issus (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 15. 8); it was here that the failed attempt to institute the Persian practice of prostration before the ruler took place, and the Pages' Conspiracy occurred as well. Alexander in a drunken rage killed Cleitus, "The Black" (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 1–9; Curt. 8. 1. 20–52; Plut. *Alex.* 50–2; Just. 12. 6. 1–18), a long-time companion and commander for both the king and his father Philip, and the current satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana (Curt. 8. 1. 19). Arrian reports that the slaying followed a heated discussion focused in part on the conferring of "heroic honors" on "living men" (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 3). Alexander was compared to the Dioscuri and to Heracles and in both cases was found to be superior to these mythical heroes (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 3). Cleitus complained of the hubris shown in comparing Alexander to the gods and thus demeaning these divinities (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 4). Arrian, however, notes that Cleitus had long been angry at Alexander's adoption of Persian ("barbarian") royal style and the excesses of the king's flatterers. Plutarch (*Alex.* 51. 2–5), likewise, emphasizes Cleitus' criticism of the changes at court and especially the prominence of Persians. When the flatterers at court began to belittle Philip, Cleitus became abusive in his language, praising the father's achievements and demeaning those of the son. When Alexander, also drunk and angry, called for his hypaspists and no one responded, he compared himself to the dead Persian king, betrayed by his closest confederates (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 9). If the comment is accurate, it shows a king very much concerned with the loyalty of those around him. Despite the attempts of many to

diffuse the situation and to restrain Alexander, the king grabbed a spear (*sarisa*) and killed Cleitus (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 8. 8–9. 1; Curt. 8. 1. 49–52; Plut. *Alex.* 51. 9–11; Just. 12. 6. 3). After the event, Alexander expressed great remorse threatening to kill himself (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 9. 2–4; Curt. 8. 2. 10–12). As Heckel (2007: 87) remarks, the remorse does appear genuine, so genuine in fact that it caused a near panic on the part of the soldiers, who apparently on their own met and condemned the now dead Cleitus for his insolence (Curt. 8. 2. 12). It must be remembered that this incident occurred in the midst of the great revolt (for the chronology, see Bosworth 1988: 113–17). Arrian (*Anab.* 4. 9. 7) relates (“some say”) that Alexander was brought out of his depression by the sophist Anaxarchus who proclaimed that “like Zeus” the acts of a great king are just.

Issues similar to those brought forth by Cleitus are central to the entire discussion in the sources surrounding Alexander’s attempt to introduce *proskynesis*, prostration, into the court ceremony at the end of the long and costly Sogdian-Bactrian campaign (Arr. 4. 9. 9, 10. 5–12. 6; Curt. 8. 5. 5–24; Plut. *Alex.* 54. 2–6). For Macedonians prostration implied worship (see Chapter 3). These men were brought up to see their ruler as both king and companion, even Persian attire was generally considered an outward sign of tyranny. *Proskynesis*, if instituted, would represent a major change in the relationship between the king and his subjects. While in various parts of the later Hellenistic world ruler cult was established, it never was practiced in Macedonia until the arrival of Roman imperial cult.

The *proskynesis* affair was followed in short order by the Conspiracy of the Pages. Here Hermolaus, one of Alexander’s pages, anticipated Alexander in a boar hunt and killed the animal. Alexander then ordered the young man to be whipped in the presence of the other pages. From this personal insult a conspiracy involving a number of pages arose (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 13. 2–4; Curt. 8. 6. 7–10; Plut. *Alex.* 55. 4–7). As it was one of the pages’ duties to guard the king while he slept (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 13. 1), they arranged the murder for a night when only the conspirators would be on duty in the king’s bedchamber. The night arrived but Alexander remained long at a symposium and the moment passed (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 13. 3–7; Curt. 8. 6. 7–19).¹⁶ The failure proved costly for the plot was revealed and the parties arrested. While our sources are united that the plot, like so many in Macedonian history, began

with a personal grievance, when Hermolaus was confronted, he listed more general grievances against his king. He complained of Alexander's arrogance, the murders of Philotas, Parmenion, Cleitus, and the Lyncestian Alexander; the king's Median dress, the attempt to institute proskynesis, and even the king's drinking and sleeping habits (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 14. 2; Curt. 8. 7. 1–6). The charges speak to the rising frustration among the Macedonians. All of the conspirators were subsequently executed (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 14. 3; Curt. 8. 8. 20). Callisthenes, the historian, who had lost his prominence at court over his vocal opposition to proskynesis was implicated in the plot and subsequently executed. Our sources, however, make it clear that he was unlikely a direct participant. Curtius (8. 6. 24) says he was not named as a plotter, and Arrian, while relating that Aristobulus and Ptolemy accused Callisthenes of involvement (*Anab.* 4. 14. 1), concludes that most authorities deny the accusation (*Anab.* 4. 14. 1; see also *Anab.* 4. 12. 7). Plutarch (*Alex.* 55. 5) relates that not one of the pages even under torture accused Callisthenes. It is possible that like Philotas before him, Callisthenes' crime was not in his encouraging or his planning of the plot, but rather his foreknowledge of it and his quiescence. The extent of discontent with Alexander and his policies would soon be seen to expand well beyond the aristocratic class.

On the Hyphasis in 326, while Alexander prepared to conquer all of India (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 15. 6; 5. 26. 1–2; Curt. 9. 2. 2–12; Just. 12. 7. 4; Plut. *Alex.* 62. 2, 5), his war-weary and discontented troops had had enough (Curt. 9. 2. 11). This incident is often called a "mutiny," but the use of the term has long been questioned. No order to advance was ever given, so no order was ever refused. What then should this incident be called? Elizabeth Carney (1996: 33) refers to it as an "unpleasantness"; Paul Faure (1982: 155), as a strike; and Frank Holt (1982: 33–59), as "mutinous never mutiny." The troops' regard for the king had been seriously tested in the preceding months. Meetings were held, complaints were raised, and many declared that they would not proceed further (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 25. 2). Additionally, Arrian (5. 25. 2), proclaims that it was Alexander's knowledge of morale problems that led him to address his commanders in order to reinstill their enthusiasm to proceed. Alexander pointed to the army's previous successes (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 25. 4–5; Curt. 9. 2. 13), the need to secure these recent conquests (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 26. 2–3), the nearness of the final goal

(Curt. 9. 2. 16); he gave out bonuses (Diod. 17. 94. 4), spoke of the pursuit of glory (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 26. 6; Curt. 9. 2. 14–15, 32) and plunder (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 26. 8; Curt. 9. 2. 27; Diod. 17. 94. 4–5). The speech failed to convince either the soldiers or their officers. Coenus apparently spoke for all proclaiming the weariness of the army and encouraging Alexander not to go against the wishes of his soldiers, but to return home and, if he so desired, later return to India with fresh Macedonian and Greek troops (*Anab.* 5. 27. 1–9; Curt. 9. 3. 3–16). Many of these troops had been on campaign for more than eight years; they had besieged cities, fought pitched battles and insurgents; endured mountain snows, deserts, and now the Indian monsoon (Diod. 17. 94. 2–3). Alexander acquiesced to the soldiers' desires and returned to the Indus where he prepared a fleet for the voyage south. On the journey down the river, Alexander was faced by an army acting in a mutinous manner (*"rursus seditiosis vocibus regem increpare coeperunt"*), complaining that Alexander, while giving in to their demands concerning the eastward march to the ocean, had only shifted the war southward (Curt. 9. 4. 16–17; Arr. *Anab.* 6. 7. 6). Alexander's relationship with his Macedonians and his faith in their commanders had been severely shaken.

While our sources all state that Alexander's initial intent was to conquer all of India,¹⁷ Philip Spann (1999: 62–74) and Waldemar Heckel (2004: 147–74) in separate articles claim that the Conqueror decided that, despite his stated intention to conquer all the way to the "eastern ocean," this was a goal too far. The then so-called mutiny on the Hyphasis (Beas) was in fact an event staged by Alexander to save his image for invincibility. Spann's (1999: 63–5) basic argument is that the conquest of India would involve too great a challenge and run too great a risk, and that this truth became known to Alexander only on the Hyphasis. The distance, the climate, the strength of the remaining enemies, and the weariness of his own soldiers, argues Spann, would have deterred a commander as skilled as Alexander. For Spann, Alexander, now became aware of the difficulty of any further campaigning in the East, but he had previously stated his goal of conquering India (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 15. 6; Curt. 9. 2. 26), and was now determined to end the campaign in the only way that would not undermine his highly developed persona. Heckel, although arriving at a similar conclusion, proposes a very different reason for Alexander's supposed subterfuge. For Heckel (2003: 150, 156–60; 2009: 49), the halt on the Hyphasis was part of Alexander's preset

limitations on his own expedition. Alexander was not concerned with what might lie in wait in the East, as Spann conjectures; these forces, Heckel states, following Plutarch (*Alex.* 62. 9), were “ripe for the picking,” but, continues Heckel, Alexander’s campaign was in the final analysis the conquest of the Persian Empire, not the “world” (2004: 160, 173). Heckel (2004: 147–8) believes that the theme of “world conquest,” Alexander’s insatiable ambition, found in the surviving sources, ultimately derives from the influence of the Alexander Romance on subsequent history. Except for slight detours, Alexander, claims Heckel, “[did] not wander far from the beaten track” (2004: 156). For Alexander, the Hyphasis, then, while beyond the eastern limits of the Persian Empire, when linked to the Indus formed a natural boundary for this new empire. Heckel’s argument in support of Alexander’s proposed deception centers on what he terms the conservatism of Alexander’s conquest aims: in the East his goal was only to secure his rule over those territories that had been part of the Persian Empire.

These arguments can be seriously challenged (Anson: Forthcoming). While Spann’s and Heckel’s assertion is certainly creative and interesting, there exists only supposition to support it. None of our sources even hints at such a subterfuge. This conservatism was clearly not recognized by many of the satraps of central Asia who in what Ernst Badian (1961: 17) has termed a reign of terror were deposed and many executed for malfeasance in office after Alexander’s return. Arrian (*Anab.* 7. 4. 2) states that these individuals, guilty of offences committed against “temples, tombs, and the subjects themselves,” believed that Alexander would perish in the lands beyond the “Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hyphasis.” As Plutarch (*Alex.* 62. 5) states: Alexander counted this retreat as “a confession of defeat.” Heckel (2004: 166), in what is the most telling argument for his position, points out that an Indus fleet was created prior to the incident at the Hyphasis and that this proves that Alexander’s intent all along was to end the campaign in Punjab. However, Arrian (*Anab.* 4. 30. 9), Diodorus (17. 89. 4–5), and Curtius (9. 1. 3) clearly note the construction of a fleet for the initial crossing of the Indus, with Plutarch (*Alex.* 61, 63. 1) and Justin (12. 8. 8, 9. 1) implying the same. Moreover, Diodorus (17. 89. 5) and Curtius (9. 1. 3) state that Alexander intended to reach the borders of Asia and then return for a trip down the Indus to the ocean. If Alexander believed that Dionysus

had conquered “the Indians” (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 1. 1; 7. 20. 1; Str. 15. 1. 7), it would have been imperative for him to duplicate or surpass the feat. While it used to be thought that these tales of Dionysus originated with Alexander’s expedition, it appears that they were far older (see Goukowsky 1981: 11–14). Arrian (*Anab.* 5. 2. 1–2) does state that by reaching “Nysa” he had already gone as far east as had Dionysus. However, this only encouraged him to go further (see Chapter 3).

Alexander’s crossing of the Indus, which appears to have been the eastern border of the Persian Empire, and continuing to the Hyphasis, then, only makes sense if the ultimate goal was for further conquests in the Indian subcontinent. As A. K. Narain states: “Doubtless therefore Alexander did nourish an ambition to conquer India, . . . Otherwise the crossing of the Indus was meaningless” (1965: 156). The strongest argument against Heckel’s and Spann’s claim, however, is that it was unnecessary. If Alexander did not wish to pursue a drive to the eastern ocean, he could have duplicated his actions on the Danube or on the borders of Scythia. He could simply have declared that the Hyphasis and the Indus were natural borders. He could also have relied solely on unpromising sacrifices to demonstrate that the gods would not favor a further eastern advance, which in fact he did (Arr. *Anab.* 5. 28. 4).

Alexander continued to create a new army with sizable Iranian elements, but his attempts to reconcile himself with his Macedonians, and the latter to this new amalgamated army enjoyed little success. As part of his plan to bring the groups more closely together, when he returned to Susa, Alexander arranged for himself and approximately 80 of his Macedonian and Greek *hetairoi* to marry Persian princesses (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 4–7). Additionally, 10,000 other Macedonians who had married Asian women had their marriages registered and Alexander gave them large cash gifts (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 8). In an attempt to increase his standing with his Macedonians he also made it known that he would discharge all of their debts. They were to register their debts and receive the appropriate payment. Many of the troops believed this was a subterfuge to discover the extravagant among them; their trust in their king had fallen to this level. Alexander, while faulting them for their distrust, continued to pay the debts but now without records being made (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 5. 1–3; Curt. 10. 2. 9–10; Diod. 17. 109. 2; Just. 13. 5. 2–5).

Alexander's last attempt to reconcile the Macedonians to his new reality of joint Macedonian and Persian rule occurred in Opis, a city slightly more than 50 miles north of Babylon on the Tigris, in 324.¹⁸ Here, Alexander announced to the assembled troops that he would send home to Macedonia older and disabled veterans with large bonuses, but this announcement was met with suspicion and abuse. The soldiers who had previously shown a marked desire to return to their homeland now believed that Alexander was replacing them with Persians.¹⁹ The Macedonian resentment of the influx of Persians and others both into the army and into the court now overwhelmed them (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 2–5). Earlier in Susa they had been joined by the *Epigoni*, the 30,000 young Persians trained and equipped in the Macedonian fashion (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 1; Curt. 8. 5. 1; Diod. 17. 108. 1–2; Plut. *Alex.* 47. 3, 71. 1). Diodorus (17. 108. 3) claims that this unit was created specifically to counterbalance the Macedonian phalanx because of the latter's increasing insubordination. However, Diodorus also places the order for its creation after the episode on the Hyphasis, which conflicts with the chronology in Curtius who more reasonably places the order prior to Alexander's leaving Bactria (Curt. 8. 5. 1). By 324, numbers of Bactrian, Sogdian, Arachotian, Zarangian, Areian, Parathyaean, and Persian cavalrymen had been added to the Companion cavalry (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 2. 3, 8. 2). The Persians Cophon, Hydarnes, Artiboles, Sisines, Phradasmenes, Aegobares, Mithrobaeus, and the Sogdian Itanes, with unnamed others, under the command of the Bactrian Hystaspes,²⁰ were enrolled in the *agema* of the Companion cavalry. They were all apparently armed in Macedonian fashion (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 5). Bosworth (1988: 272; 1980A: 15–17, 20–1; Brunt 1983: 220–1 ns. 5 and 6) is likely correct, however, that these oriental Companions were brigaded in separate squadrons (*lochoi*) within the hierarchies of the Companions.

Given that the so-called mutiny on the Hyphasis had centered on a desire to return, it is understandable that Alexander became angry. Alexander picked out those most conspicuous among the agitators and had the hypaspists march them off to execution. He then delivered a speech to the rest dressing them down as ungrateful for all the benefits bestowed on them by himself and his father Philip, accusing them of deserting him and handing him over to the protection of barbarians. When finished, he jumped down from his platform and remained closeted for the rest of that day and the next, avoiding

even contact with his companions. On the third day, he invited in “picked men from the Persians” and divided his military commands among them, additionally forming Persian units bearing Macedonian names and equipped in Macedonian and Greek equipment. The Macedonian troops immediately repented their insubordination and begged for forgiveness, which a gracious Alexander willingly gave.²¹ While Alexander and his Macedonians were now officially reconciled, the Persian units remained. Curtius (10. 2. 8) reports that Alexander retained of his Macedonians, 2,000 cavalry and 13,000 infantry, sending home 10,000 (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 12. 1; Diod. 17. 109. 2; 18. 4. 1). Alexander now held a reconciliation banquet. Here, however, Arrian makes it clear that the participants at the feast were clearly divided by their national origins. Far from intermingling, the Persians and Macedonians were separated from each other and the Macedonians alone were in the king’s immediate company (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 8–9).

Later, in Babylon, a force of 20,000 Persian infantry, with the addition of units of Cossaeans and Tapurians, all under the command of the then satrap of Persis, Peucestas, joined Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 23. 1). These troops retained their traditional arms and were used to complement the Macedonian and Iranian phalanxes (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 23. 3–4). Additionally, troops of unknown origin and number had also arrived with Philoxenus from Caria, and Menander with additional forces from Lydia (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 23. 1). This new army was eventually to include Macedonian reinforcements to be brought by Antipater (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 12. 4; Just. 12. 12. 9), which were to replace those dismissed at Opis.

Alexander’s administration remained after his return from India basically that of the Achaemenid Empire. While he did replace a number of satraps on his return from India, some exchanging Macedonians for Persians, this represented no change in practice. The Persian Astaspes was deposed in 324 and replaced by the Macedonian Sibyrtius (Curt. 9. 10. 21, 29; Arr. *Anab.* 6. 27. 1); Orxines was replaced by Peucestas (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 30. 2; Curt. 10. 1. 37–38). In a number of cases it was Macedonians who had to be replaced. The Macedonian military commanders in Media, Cleander, Heracon, and Agathon, along with the Thracian Sitalces, were all executed from malfeasance in office (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 27. 4; Curt. 10. 1. 1–5; Plut. *Alex.* 68. 3; Diod. 17. 106. 2). In the province of Media, the Persian Atropates remained as satrap (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 18. 3; Diod. 18. 3. 3; Just. 13. 4. 13). Even though Arrian (*Anab.*

7. 4. 3; also noted in Curt. 10. 1. 39) remarks that Alexander was now too ready to listen to accusations and severely punish minor faults, the crimes noted specifically by Arrian and Curtius are hardly minor. Astaspes, the satrap of Carmania, was suspected of plotting rebellion (Curt. 9. 21, 29); Cleander, Heracon, Agathon, and Sitalces were accused by natives and soldiers of plundering temples, tombs, and individuals (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 27. 4; Curt. 10. 1. 2–5); Autophradates, the satrap of the Tapurians and Mardians, was accused of aspiring to the kingship (Curt. 10. 1. 39). While Curtius (10. 1. 22–38) states that Orxines was an innocent man, Arrian (*Anab.* 6. 30. 2) accuses him of pillaging royal tombs and executing innocent Persians. The most notable of those who now incurred Alexander's wrath was Harpalus, the son of Machatas. Earlier, while serving as imperial treasurer, he had fled with a portion of the royal treasury, but had been forgiven and permitted to return resuming his former position (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 4–7; Chapter 4). His later flight, however, involved more serious activities. He fled with 5,000 talents and 6,000 mercenaries and offered his services to the Athenians (Diod. 17. 108. 6). Even Arrian (*Anab.* 6. 27. 5; 7. 4. 2; Diod. 17. 106. 2; Plut. *Alex.* 68. 3) acknowledges that many serious crimes were committed by Alexander's subordinates while he was in India, and by both Macedonians and Persians.

Some of the severity may indeed have been the result of Alexander's frustration resulting from the insurrection in central Asia, his difficulties in establishing his new authority as "the King of Asia," the incident on the Hyphasis (Badian 1961: 20–1), the serious wound incurred in the Mallian campaign in India, the losses in the Gedrosian desert, and now the discovery of the malfeasance in office of the subordinates he had left behind. Claims that this was "a reign of terror" (Badian 1961: 16–17), however, are much exaggerated. As W. E. Higgins (1980: 137) remarks, there is no "sense of blind and completely unjustified wrath." After his return from India and Gedrosia, Alexander was no longer engaged in his pursuit of conquest. For one of the few times since he had come to the Macedonian throne, he literally had time on his hands. Soon he would prepare for new conquests, but for the time being he would review the administration of his empire and contemplate his future. Given that he had this time to review and begin reform of his new empire, it is surprising how little change was inaugurated. The one area where major revisions were to take place was back in

the Greek peninsula. In 324, Alexander ordered the return of the Greek exiles to their home cities (Diod. 17. 109. 1; 18. 8. 2; Curt. 10. 2. 4–7; Just. 13. 5. 2–5). While this was a broad proclamation that must have involved tens of thousands of families (Diod. 18. 8. 5), there were certain restrictions. Those guilty of sacrilege and murder were to be excluded (Diod. 17. 109. 1), as also apparently were those exiled by Alexander's or Antipater's commands (Diod. 18. 8. 4). This was not the first time Alexander had ordered a Greek community to receive back exiles. He had done so in the cases of Chios, Mytilene, and others, but what made this very different was that these latter communities had been subject to Persian rule, the League was noted as a participant in the process, and, moreover, the decree of 324 was sweeping in its scope. Diodorus (18. 8. 2) declares that Alexander issued the decree "for the sake of fame" and "wishing to secure many devoted personal followers in every city . . ." According to Diodorus (18. 8. 6), "the majority of Greeks welcomed the return of the exiles as a good thing." As in most of Alexander's administrative directives, this was a cogent and expedient means of dealing with immediate problems. Earlier he had ordered "all the satraps" to dismiss their mercenary forces (Diod. 17. 111. 1). His purpose clearly was to forestall the kinds of insubordination he had witnessed when he returned from India and to make sure that these activities did not grow into open rebellions. By this action, Alexander's administrative division of military and civil authority would be maintained. Badian (1961: 16–28) emphasizes that this demonstrates Alexander's mounting distrust of his subordinates, but it appears that Alexander was leery of them from the very start of his expedition. The order to the satraps was meant to return the exiles to their original status in their respective homelands. Many of these mercenaries, along with various Persian refugees, however, began to assemble in Taenarum in Laconia (Diod. 17. 111. 1). In all likelihood, it was this problem of floating mercenaries that precipitated the "Exiles' Decree" (Badian 1961: 29–31). Additionally, as noted in Diodorus, this decree would establish throughout Greece those who by this one act would be most loyal to the King of Asia. Instead of attempting to rework the League of Corinth into a body in which the king would be granted greater authority or proclaiming as he had in Asia a blanket endorsement of a particular form of government for the Greeks, he would create loyal supporters throughout the Greek world.

This loyalty would be personal not institutional. Philip gave land to create a loyal following in Macedonia; Alexander would garner support by becoming the agent for the return to their homelands of so many thousands. But, then, this hiatus in Babylon was to be only a brief interlude in the quest for more conquests.

After the king's death, there were found in his papers plans for extensive operations in the West and also for the creation of numerous cities established through the transfer of populations "from Asia to Europe . . . and from Europe to Asia" (Diod. 18. 4. 2–4). It is added that the purpose of the population transplants was "to bring the largest constituents to common unity and to friendly kinship by means of intermarriages and family ties" (Diod. 18. 4. 4). It is more likely that like his father before him he saw the advantage of disassociating people from their respective homelands. While the authenticity of these so-called last plans has been questioned, it is clear from other sources whose providence is likely to be different from Diodorus' that Alexander did indeed have great plans for the future had he lived. Curtius (10. 1. 17–19) states that Alexander's "ambitions knew no bounds" and confirms that the king planned on a vast western expansion of his empire. That he planned to transfer populations may have been an actual plan, whose purpose for propaganda reasons was disguised. The Assyrians, Chaldaeans, and Persians had often dealt with difficult populations through transfer (Briant 2002: 505–6; Na'aman 1993: 104–24). This was a practice also used by Alexander's father Philip (Ellis 1969B: 9–16). Populations in foreign locations would not likely be as dangerous when they were surrounded by foreigners; they would be aliens in a strange land. Whether such major dislocations of population would have occurred, like the western campaigns, may never be known. On June 11, 323 BC, the king was dead and with him the Kingdom of Asia.

6

Alexander's legacy

On June 11, 323 BC, at not quite 33 years of age, Alexander died. His accomplishments as a military commander are unquestioned. His ability to maintain control of such a vast empire speaks more to his personality than to his administrative skills. His domination of his often fractious and ambitious general staff is additional testimony of his power as a leader. After Alexander's death these individuals kept the eastern Mediterranean in turmoil for more than 40 years. His mercurial personality had carried an army more than 10,000 miles across mountains, broad plains, deserts, and into lands waterlogged by the monsoon, conquering approximately two million square miles. He had vanquished every opponent. His charisma was such that large numbers of the conquered also followed him willingly into battle. Sigygambis, the mother of Darius III, became almost a second mother to him (Curt. 3. 12. 17; 5. 2. 22; Just. 13. 1. 5). When it was reported that Alexander had died, grieving as if she had lost another son, she starved herself to death (Just. 13. 1. 5–6; Curt. 10. 5. 19–24; Diod. 17. 118. 3).

Soon after Alexander's death, tales of conspiracy and poison were voiced (see most recently, Schep 2009: 227–36), but in the final analysis Alexander had lived a lifetime in his 30-plus years. In his ten-year expedition, he received a head wound on the Granicus (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 15. 7–8; Diod. 17. 20. 6; Plut. *Mor.* 327A), one in the thigh at Issus (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 12. 1; Curt. 3. 12. 2; Plut. *Mor.* 327A), the shoulder and leg at Gaza (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 27. 2; Curt. 4. 6. 17, 23; Plut. *Mor.* 327A). He suffered a broken leg near Samarkand (Curt. 7. 6. 1–9; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 30. 10–11; Plut. *Mor.* 327A), was struck in the head and neck in Bactria (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 3. 3; Curt. 7. 6. 22), and had his lung pierced by an arrow in India (Arr. *Anab.* 6.

10. 1; Curt. 9. 5. 9–10). He may have contracted malaria in Cilicia (Borza 1987A: 36–8), and, perhaps, West Nile disease in Babylonia (Marr and Calisher 2003). It has even been suggested that his death was the result of the “sequelae of congenital scoliotic syndrome” (Ashrafian 2004: 138–42), or as a result of his injury suffered while besieging the Bactrian city of Cyropolis in 329 BC, which caused a “carotid artery dissection” that brought on his death six years later (Williams and Arnott 2004: 130–7).¹ Add to these traumas and possible diseases, the heavy drinking associated with Macedonian symposia (Carney 2007: 143–4; Sawada 2010: 393),² and Alexander’s death becomes less surprising and takes on the air of inevitability.

When he died, he left behind one of the greatest territorial empires of all time and the ingredients for a whole new world. Alexander may have been one of the greatest catalysts in history. Out of his conquests came the Hellenistic Age. There is little doubt that his expedition created the circumstances for the nature of the eastern Mediterranean world for the next two centuries. His campaigns brought not only Greek armies to the East but also large numbers of Greeks themselves, who were subsequently followed by even a greater influx in the aftermath of his death. As a result of his conquests a whole new pattern of political, cultural, social, and religious development took place, the result of the interplay of Greek populations and culture, and the indigenous civilizations of western Asia and Egypt. The real question becomes was any of this intended. Was Alexander more than an unwitting catalyst? Was his true bequest to the world more than a tale for the Ages? It is in an examination of Alexander’s legacy that cracks appear in his legend. The empire he had cobbled together, while in the main standing throughout his lifetime, after his death its unity proved ephemeral, collapsing after only three years. While Alexander may have created a new world, he had not created the means to run it.

One of the disappointments of the Hellenistic Age is that after the reigns of two of the most mercurial figures, father and son, in Greek and world history, no great individual arose to succeed them. Indeed, Alexander’s empire of satrapies, subordinate, yet virtually autonomous, kingdoms, and semiautonomous cities was held together solely by the strength of his personality. After his death, it was his generals who carved out for themselves their own pieces of the Conqueror’s empire and fought among themselves for power

in the struggles known as the Wars of the Diadochi, the Successors. These titanic battles came to an end only with this generation's passing. Nor were Alexander's administrative policies the basis for these new kingdoms. The new Hellenistic states were the result of the actions of his successors. Using a combination primarily of Philip II's administration with various Persian additions they created viable polities, which survived for centuries. Alexander's contribution to these monarchies was not the detailed administrative framework but far more basic. These new states were militarily based and their rulers at the very least were seen as supported by the gods. The concept of a warrior king owed much to Alexander's more immediate example, even though this was traditionally the royal role in Macedonia, and certainly not unknown in the history of Asia.

The creation of cities is often pointed to as an example of Alexander's attempt to Hellenize the East (Hammond 1997: 100–1), and it is one of the more enduring of his accomplishments, not just the cities themselves, but the practice of founding these Greek cultural enclaves in these foreign lands. The sources often associate a new city's foundation with Alexander proclaiming that he could see that the city would be great and prosperous (see Arr. *Anab.* 3. 1. 5). Given the names given to these cities, it is certain that Alexander wished that they would all be great and prosperous. There were, perhaps, as many as 14 Alexandrias,³ at least one Nicaea (victory), and a Bucephala, the last commemorating the death of his famous horse (Arr. *Arr.* 5. 19. 4, 20. 1). These communities would trumpet through the ages either the name or recall some aspect of their founder. They did, however, have the effect of bringing Greek culture and civilization to areas distant from the Greek heartland (Cartledge 2005: 205; Adams 2005: 152). Moreover, especially in the subsequent Seleucid Empire city foundations on the Greek model accelerated (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 142–3), likely in emulation of Alexander's practice.

Even though Plutarch believed that Alexander sought to create a brotherhood of man; “he came as the heaven-sent governor of all, and as a mediator for the whole world, . . . bringing together into one body all men everywhere, uniting and mixing in one great *crater*” (*Mor.* 329C), and is followed in this belief by Tarn (1950: 137–48) and Hammond (1989: 273), the truth is otherwise. The Macedonian king's desire that “the Macedonians and Persians should enjoy harmony as

partners in the government" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 9) was not based on some philosophical principle, but rather on Alexander's own self-interest. He was Alexander, after his conquest of Egypt proclaimed the son of Zeus, and by the end of his reign desirous of receiving the honors typically bestowed on a god; all others were hence inferior and his subjects. It is within this context that Alexander's incorporation of the conquered in his administration and increasingly in his army must be understood. With growing antagonism between himself and his Macedonians along with a need for additional sources of manpower, Alexander wished to make use of his new Persian and Asiatic subjects. As part of his new administration and army these former enemies required reconciliation. As part of his plan to bring the groups more closely together, when he returned to Susa, Alexander arranged for himself and approximately 80 of his Macedonian and Greek *hetairoi* to marry Persian princesses (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 4-7). Additionally, 10,000 other Macedonians who had married Asian women had their marriages registered and were given large cash gifts (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 4. 8).

The political nature of this harmony of peoples is made clear by Alexander's occasional use of their dislike of the Persians as a foil in his on-going struggles in the latter stages of his reign with his Macedonians. Alexander's creation of the *Epigoni*, the 30,000 young Persians trained and equipped in the Macedonian fashion,⁴ was in part to offset the growing insubordination of Alexander's Macedonians (Diod. 17. 108. 3). This distrust between commander and the Macedonian troops became especially virulent at Opis, when Alexander announced his intention of discharging 10,000 Macedonians and sending them home.⁵ The troops took, what was apparently to be a gift from the king to many of his long-serving veterans, as an insult. In the anger and frustration that followed, Alexander turned to his Persian subjects. He formed Persian units bearing Macedonian names and equipped in Macedonian and Greek equipment. The result of these actions was a full capitulation by the Macedonians. While Alexander and his Macedonians later officially reconciled,⁶ the veterans were still dismissed and the Persian units remained, leaving the army primarily Asiatic. If Curtius' numbers are accurate (10. 2. 8), then Alexander only retained 2,000 Macedonian cavalry and 13,000 Macedonian infantry, having sent home 10,000 of his fellow countrymen (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 12. 1; Diod. 17. 109. 2; 18. 4. 1). Moreover, in addition to the *Epigoni*, a force of 20,000 Persian infantry along with additional forces of Cossaeans and

Tapurians joined Alexander in Babylon (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 23. 1). While a new Macedonian force to be brought by Antipater was to join Alexander to replace those sent home (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 12. 4; Just. 12. 12. 9), the number of Asiatic troops still would have outnumbered the native Macedonians in Alexander's army.

Beginning in the central Asian regions of Bactria and Sogdiana, Alexander had begun the process of incorporating numbers of Asiatics in his forces. Since his army was to rely increasingly on these Asian troops, it was in the king's interest to treat these peoples favorably. Moreover, since his army was still to include a sizable Macedonian component, reconciliation and harmony between the former adversaries was essential. Alexander was, however, approaching this union cautiously. The Macedonians and Persians were not amalgamated into the same units, but kept ethnically distinct. This separation was also obvious in the reconciliation banquet that was held at Opis. Here, the participants at the feast were seated roughly in concentric circles with the Macedonians inhabiting the inner circle with Alexander, then the Persians, followed by "others" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 11. 8). Perhaps, over time, this reconciliation would have been accomplished, but then Alexander died too soon to tell. Many of his Successors continued the practice of Alexander, using Asiatics in their armies. Suggestions that much of the heavy infantry over time came from the Persian heartland might be correct, as claimed by Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993: 57), but there is a dearth of evidence to support these views. The evidence for the royal courts of the Hellenistic kings is overwhelming that these were peopled primarily with those of Greek or Macedonian origin (Savilli-Lestrade 1998: 216–34). Additional evidence, however, is beginning to be exploited, which suggests that native participation in the bureaucratic structure of these new states may have been substantial.

Macedonia, Alexander's homeland, while not, perhaps, suffering as completely as has been suggested because of Alexander's drain on the nation in terms of manpower, did not reap much benefit from the conquests either. Alexander was not overly interested in the concerns of Macedonia, except as a source of soldiers. Unlike the later Romans, lands secured overseas by Macedonian armies did not redound to the benefit of Macedonia. Alexander planned an empire centered on Babylon.⁷ Nor is his virtual abandonment Alexander's only crime against his homeland. His first was his failure to produce a viable heir. When he died the Argead clan had but two

possible living claimants for the throne: Alexander's half-brother Arrhidaeus and his young son Heracles, the latter the result of a liaison with Barsine, the widow of the Rhodian Memnon. Barsine had been captured in Damascus by Parmenion and subsequently had become Alexander's mistress (Curt. 3. 13. 14; Plut. *Alex.* 21. 7; Just. 11. 10. 2). Heracles was the result of this affair (Curt. 10. 6. 11; Diod. 20. 20. 1). Diodorus lists his age in 310 as 17; Justin (15. 2. 3) says 15. Heracles would then have been between two and four years of age at the time of his father's death.⁸ Heracles was only given serious consideration for the monarchy later in 310–09, in the subsequent and on-going struggle that emerged after the Conqueror's death.

Alexander's half-brother, Arrhidaeus, was mentally deficient (Diod. 18. 2. 2; Plut. *Mor.* 337D; Just. 13. 2. 11; 14. 5. 2; App. *Syr.* 52). While there has been some attempt to rehabilitate Arrhidaeus (Greenwalt 1984: 69–77), whatever his difficulties, they were sufficient to have made him an unlikely candidate for the throne. Most of the military commanders in the aftermath of Alexander's death never even considered him as a candidate for the throne (Curt. 10. 6. 8–7. 9), and his survival to this point may have been the result of his lack of capacity to rule. Alexander had eliminated everyone else who had a viable claim on the throne. Arrhidaeus survived either because he and Alexander had forged a bond, or, more likely, because Alexander never saw him as a serious threat.

At the time of Alexander's death, the king's Sogdian wife Roxane was pregnant with Alexander's son (Curt. 10. 6. 9; Just. 13. 2. 5; Arr. *Succ.* 1a. 8). Most of the former companions and commanders of the dead king wished to await the birth of what they hoped would be a son and their future king. The common soldiers did not want to be ruled by a regency or a regency council while such a king grew to manhood. They wanted the adult Argead; they wanted Arrhidaeus. The result was a riot and eventually a compromise. The new monarchy would have two kings: Arrhidaeus, renamed Philip (III), and Alexander's and Roxane's son, Alexander (IV). Philip III reigned until his murder in the fall of 317 (Diod. 19. 11. 5–7; Just. 14. 5. 9–10); Alexander IV, was assassinated in 310 (Diod. 19. 105. 2; Paus. 9. 7. 2; Just. 15. 2. 3). The last of the Argeads, Heracles, was also murdered in 309 (Diod. 20. 28; Paus. 9. 7. 2; Just. 15. 2. 3).⁹ The Argead dynasty, which by tradition had ruled Macedonia from the late ninth century, now came to an end.

Alexander and his father had in their two reigns also changed one of the basic institutions of Macedonia. The *Hetairos* relationship had for good or ill been the mainstay of Macedonian political organization. The concept of companions as opposed to subjects had been augmented by Philip's expansion of this relationship to his Macedonian infantry. But, this seeming expansion of the personal nature of the monarchy also resulted in the creation of a counterbalance to the aristocratic companions. Under Alexander, the nature of monarchy had changed significantly. It had acquired many of the aspects of Eastern despotism. While lip service would continue to be given to the tradition of "king's companions," such individuals in the Age of the Diadochi had become often little more than sycophants, although many held important posts throughout their respective kings domains, which came to them not through bureaucratic promotion but rather from their "friendship" with the ruler (Wallace 2013).

By the time Alexander arrived back in Babylon, he was embittered against his Macedonians and a portion of his officers. His one truly trusted confidant Hephaestion had died late in 324, and he found himself surrounded by an entourage that bathed him in flattery and adulation. In the words of Arrian (*Anab.* 7. 29. 1), "It is men that seek to please and not to act for the best who are and will be the associates of kings, exercising an evil influence." His every idea championed, his every whim endorsed, his every desire supported, becoming lost in a world where checks and balances vanished in the midst of acclamation and praise. In this sense, Arrian's assessment of Alexander is accurate. That he desired to receive the honors bestowed on him only follows from his desire to exceed all men. In part, this may have resulted both from his desire for praise, but was likely increasingly augmented by the frustrations encountered in the last years of his reign. The conspiracies, the great revolt in Bactria and Sogdiana, the failure in India, and the growing insolence of his Macedonian soldiers, all of these turned his pursuit of glory on the battlefield increasingly to the quest for greater adoration from his subjects, whether Greek or foreign, for the new King of Asia. He had come to view his Macedonians after the incident involving *proskynesis* as unlikely ever to venerate him as he wished. Alexander, as Lindsay Adams has expressed in his recent biography of the Conqueror (2005: 149), was ever in pursuit of *arête* (excellence). Alexander's ultimate goal was personal glory. He was not out to

change the world, he was out to conquer it. When his plans to conquer India were lost, he dreamed of conquests in Arabia and the West (Diod. 18. 4. 2–4). Alexander's claims for the honors due for divinities were to be emulated by the kings in the Hellenistic states. Alexander's own Macedonians in Asia inaugurated his worship soon after his death (Diod. 18. 60. 4–61. 3; Plut. *Eum.* 13. 4–5). That Alexander had no doubt of his future immortality is clear, that he believed he was due the honors of a god while alive, plain, yet, it is equally certain that he did not see himself as a true immortal god while he lived. His achievements warranted the extravagant honors in anticipation of his future divinity, and in this sense he was only seeking an advance on what he believed truly awaited him after death, his joining with the immortal gods.

In the final analysis, Alexander was more of a catalyst in the making of the Hellenistic world than its creator. A question that comes to mind is whether he would have cared that his legacy was that of facilitator rather than designer. The answer, I suspect, would be no. His goal was glory and fame and he certainly achieved it. Moreover, that his unified empire did not long survive him would have been of little concern. Indeed, that no one else was able to maintain its integrity probably would have pleased him. "Alexander was, essentially, not interested in a future without himself" (Badian 1964: 203). Here as I am finishing this manuscript in 2012, and Alexander is its subject, as he has been in so many other books, articles, movies. He would be very pleased, although likely disappointed that while Achilles had his Homer, he as yet, has not.

NOTES

Introduction

- 1 Arr. *Anab.* 1. 7. 1–9. 1; Diod. 17. 8. 3–14. 1; Just. 11. 3. 6–4. 8.
- 2 Arr. *Anab.* 1. 19, 20. 2–23. 6; Diod. 17. 22, 23. 6–27. 6, Plut. *Alex.* 17. 2.
- 3 Arr. *Anab.* 2. 20. 6–24. 5, 26. 2–27. 7; Curt. 4. 2. 1–4. 4. 21, 4. 6. 7–31; Diod. 17. 40. 2–46. 5, 48. 7; Plut. *Alex.* 24. 4–5, 25. 1–5. The siege of Tyre took seven months (Diod. 17. 46. 5; Plut. *Alex.* 24. 5; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 2. 24. 5). Curtius (4. 4. 19) reports that the siege took six months.
- 4 Arr. *Anab.* 1. 13–16; Diod. 17. 19–21. 6; Plut. *Alex.* 16.
- 5 Arr. *Anab.* 2. 8–11; Curt. 3. 8. 10–11. 27; Diod. 17. 33–34.
- 6 Arr. *Anab.* 3. 8. 2–15. 7; Curt. 4. 12–16; Diod. 17. 57–61; Just. 11. 13–14; Plut. *Alex.* 33–4.
- 7 Hammond 1972; Hammond and Griffith 1979; Hammond 1989; Errington 1990; Borza 1990; Hatzopoulos 1996A, B; Roisman and Worthington 2010.
- 8 For example, Ellis 1976; Cawkwell 1978; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1980; Wirth 1985; Hammond 1994; Worthington 2008.
- 9 On the respective dates of the original author and his epitomator, see Develin 1994: 4–5.
- 10 For example, Thuc. 1. 1. 2, 82. 1; 2. 97. 3; 6. 1. 1., 6. 1, 18. 2; Hdts. 1. 1. pref., 1. 3; 9. 79. 1, 106. 1; Dem. 19. 312.

Chapter 1

- 1 Hdts. 7. 173. 1; 8. 137. 1; Thuc. 2. 99. 1–3; Str. 7. 8; frg. 12; 9. 5. 3, 17; Paus. 1. 13.
- 2 See Hammond and Griffith 1979: 56–64; Borza 1990: 87.
- 3 While it appears unlikely, Anthemus may not have been in Amyntas I's possession at the time (Hatzopoulos 1996A: 174).
- 4 Thuc. 4. 83. 4; Dem. 18. 211, 244, 19. 44, 113, 150, 235, 330; Aeschin. 2. 85, 109; 3. 63, 67–8, 71, 74.
- 5 Dem. 18. 25, 27, 30, 32; 19. 20, 44; Aeschin. 2. 83, 2. 129.
- 6 Pausanias (10. 3. 3, 8. 2) states that the two votes were given to the Macedonians. However, Pausanias wrote 500 years after the events he is

- describing, whereas Demosthenes and Speusippas were contemporaries, and Diodorus is here likely following a fourth-century source (Markle 1994: 69).
- 7 Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 9; 5. 3. 6; 6. 3. 2; 7. 25. 2; Plut. *Alex.* 23. 2; Diod. 17. 16. 3, 18. 1; Just. 7. 2. 9–12; 9. 4. 1.
 - 8 Schol. Dem. *Olyn.* 1. 5; Aristid. *Or.* 38. 480; Just. 9. 7. 11; 11. 2. 1; Diod. 18. 28. 4; Hammond 1970: 64–7.
 - 9 It is also possible that Archelaus' death was due to an accident (Diod. 14. 37. 6).
 - 10 Hdt. 5. 19. 1–2; 7. 173. 3; 8. 136. 1, 139. 1, 140a. 1; 9. 144. 1; Just. 7. 4. 1.
 - 11 Diod. 15. 71. 1; *FGrH* 135/6 F 3=Athen. 14. 629D; Dem 19. 194–5; *FGrH* 239 F-74a. Whether Ptolemy directly assassinated him (Diod. 15. 71. 1), or was in some way responsible (*FGrH* 135/6 F 3=Athen. 14. 629D), Ptolemy appears to have been behind the assassination.
 - 12 For the many differences in the literary Homeric kingship and the real Macedonian one, see Carlier 2000: 259–68.
 - 13 Stobaeus (*Flor.* 13. 8), a fifth-century AD collector of “valuable and instructive” sayings records the incident as taking place not with either king, but rather with Antipater, Alexander's and subsequently his heirs', regent.
 - 14 Diod. 18. 2. 2; Plut. *Mor.* 337D; Just. 13. 2. 11; 14. 5. 2; App. *Syr.* 52; see Badian 1964: 264; Greenwalt 1984: 69–77.
 - 15 Barsine had been captured by Parmenion and subsequently had become intimate with Alexander (Curt. 3. 13. 14; Plut. *Alex.* 21. 7; Just. 11. 10. 2). Heracles had been the result of this liaison (Curt. 10. 6. 11; Diod. 20. 20. 1). Diodorus lists his age, in 310, as 17 (Justin [15. 2. 3] says 15).
 - 16 I used to believe (Anson 1985B: 303–16; 1991: 230–47) that there was a bit more formality in the process. The evidence, however, suggests that there was no formal or usually even an informal meeting of the so-called *principes*, but rather a far more amorphous process in which powerful personalities dominated.
 - 17 Curt. 10. 2. 12–4. 3; Arr. *Anab.* 7. 8. 1–11. 9; Diod. 17. 109. 1–3; Just. 12. 11. 1–12. 12; Plut. *Alex.* 71. 2–9.
 - 18 W. Schwahn (1931: 313) correctly assumes that while both were royal, Philip was to rule until Alexander came of age. This would appear to follow from Diodorus 18. 57. 2, where Polyperchon invites Olympias to return to Macedonia “to take charge of the son of Alexander, and to assume responsibility for him until he should become of age and receive his father's kingdom.”
 - 19 Granier 1931: 87–8; Aymard 1950: 115–37; Briant 1973: 297–9; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 390–2; Hatzopoulos 1996A: 271–6; Landucci Gattinoni 2003: 43.

- 20 Curt. 6. 2. 21, 9. 1, 28, 36, 11. 8, 9; 7. 1. 5, 2. 1, 3; 7. 2. 6, 11; 9. 1. 1, 2. 12; 10. 2. 18, 3. 1, 6, 5. 11, 7. 3, 13, 8. 7.
- 21 The dating here is controversial. See Anson 2009B: 243–4; 2006: 1–8; Boiy 2010: 1–13; 2007: 10–11.
- 22 Polyperchon was appointed by the previous holder of that office, Antipater, prior to that individual's death in 319 (Diod. 18. 48. 4–5, 49. 1; Plut. *Phoc.* 31. 1; *Eum.* 12. 1; Just. 14. 5. 5).
- 23 Justin calls the meeting a *contio*, but this is without significance. Justin (11. 2. 8) also calls an Athenian assembly a *contio*. In general, on this trial and others, see Anson 2008A.
- 24 Curt. 6. 9. 23; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 26. 2; Diod. 17. 79. 6, 80. 1; Plut. *Alex.* 49. 9–12.
- 25 Curt. 7. 1. 10; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 27. 1–2; Just. 11. 7. 1–2; 12. 14. 1.
- 26 Curt. 7. 1. 5–9, 8. 8. 6; Arr. *Anab.* 1. 25. 3–9; Diod. 17. 32. 1, 80. 2; Just. 11. 7. 1–2, 12. 14. 1. Diodorus Siculus (17. 32. 1) suggests that the Lyncestian was not even arrested until almost a year after his involvement in the Persian plot.
- 27 Diodorus Siculus (17. 80. 1) and Curtius (6. 11. 39) state that Parmenion was convicted by the same assembly that found Philotas guilty. However, Arrian (*Anab.* 3. 26. 4), following Ptolemy, relates that Alexander had that commander killed either because he could not believe that he had not been involved in the conspiracy, or because he might react violently to the death of his son. In either case, in Ptolemy's account of the incident there was no finding of guilt on the part of Parmenion. Badian (1960: 324–38) argues based solely on supposition that the death of the father was the ultimate goal of Alexander's trial of Philotas.
- 28 Bauman (1990: 133) assumes that Amyntas stood trial, but there is no such evidence.
- 29 Arr. *Anab.* 7. 8. 1–12. 4; Diod. 17. 108. 3, 109. 1–3; Plut. *Alex.* 71. 1–5; Just. 12. 11. 5–12. 10; Curt. 10. 2. 8, 4. 2.

Chapter 2

- 1 In general on Philip's career, see: Ellis 1976; Cawkwell 1978; Hatzopoulos and Loukopulos 1980; Hammond 1994; Worthington 2008.
- 2 While Borza (1990: 182–4) sees these two reported incidents as a doublet, Ellis (1969A: 3–4) and Hammond (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 172–3) accept both incidents. Ellis, however, is probably correct that the two references to Amyntas relinquishing control of his “borderland” to Olynthus may, indeed, be a doublet, yet there is sufficient information to suggest two distinct incidents. It is likely that

- the Olynthians held this land continuously from 393/2 until 379 (Xen. *Anab.* 5. 3. 26).
- 3 Diod. 14. 19. 2; Isoc. 6. 46; see also Diod. 16. 6. 2; Diodorus's (16. 2. 2) claim that Philip was given as a hostage and subsequently delivered to the Thebans by the Illyrians is unlikely. Diodorus is here summarizing his material and has likely confused this episode with a later one involving Alexander II (Just. 7. 5. 1).
 - 4 Hammond in Hammond and Griffith 1979: 175–6 (see also Heskell 1996: 39–40) argues that this is one of the three sons of King Archelaus, who may have ruled with Illyrian support as Argaeus II from 393/2–392/1 (Diod. 14. 92. 4; Euseb. *Chron.* 200. 11).
 - 5 The new Macedonian king, in 348, disposed of his three half-brothers, Archelaus, Arridaeus, and Menelaus (Just. 8. 3. 10; see also Just. 7. 4. 5; Ellis 1973: 350–4; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 699–701).
 - 6 Paeonia was not incorporated into Macedonia, but continued to be ruled by its own monarchs until it was fully incorporated into the Macedonian state during the Antigonid dynasty (Merker 1965: 43–4).
 - 7 For this letter, see Natoli 2004: 108. The letter is generally thought by scholars to be authentic, even called by one, “unhappily authentic” (Brunt 1993: 292). For a full bibliography, see Natoli 2004: 17 n. 11.
 - 8 Hammond (1994: 18–19) states without evidence that Perdiccas gave Philip “King’s forces, consisting of excellent cavalry and hoplite infantry.”
 - 9 The garrison probably dates from that of Perdiccas III (Aeschin. 2. 29).
 - 10 Diod. 16. 2. 6; Diodorus does not mention the Thracian king by name, and while Griffith (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 208) believes that Cotys was already dead and had been succeeded by his three sons (see Tod 1948: 152–3), J. R. Ellis (1976: 250 n. 5) is surely correct that the former was still alive, but assassinated in 359 thus forestalling the proposed invasion.
 - 11 For the date, see Hammond, Hammond and Griffith 1979: 59.
 - 12 It is unlikely that Theopompus has confused the titles of the guard and the regular infantry (Ellis 1976: 53). G. T. Griffith (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 406) is correct that Theopompus, a knowledgeable contemporary, “is almost sure to be right.” Demosthenes (2. 16–17) relates that the majority of Macedonians, “those who had suffered many campaigns,” but then the orator goes on to mention “his mercenaries and *pezhetairoi*” as separate units. Demosthenes thus indicates that the personal relationship of king and foot-soldier had, as of 349, not been extended to the infantry as a whole.
 - 13 Carney (2000C: 57–8) argues that the marriage likely occurred after Bardylis’ defeat. There is no evidence that points to the timing of

- the marriage and only relates that Audata was an Illyrian; there is no reference to her parentage. She is, however, listed as his first wife (Athen. 13. 557C).
- 14 One of the “offenses” claimed as being committed by Alcibiades was incest with his sister (Lys. 14. 28, 41).
 - 15 In general, with respect to “spear-won” land, see Funck 1978: 45–55; Mehl 1980/81: 173–212.
 - 16 Plutarch declares that Alexander gave all of his property, but this is clearly an exaggeration (So Hamilton 1969: 37).
 - 17 Strabo (7. 6. 2) and the Suda (s.v. *city of slaves*) claim that Calybe was a foundation of “villainous people.”
 - 18 See Billows 1995: 146–69. Antigonus in 316 attempted to undermine the loyalty of Eumenes of Cardia’s army, in part, by offers of “large gifts of land” (Diod. 19. 25. 3).
 - 19 Bosworth (1971: 105) sees this revolt as one indication that “the incorporation of the mountain kingdoms [Upper Macedonia] proved ultimately unsuccessful.” As noted, this conclusion appears to be contrary to the evidence, and Hatzopoulos (1996A: 103) challenges the existence of the entire revolt, calling it, perhaps, “a pious fiction invented by the Romans.”
 - 20 For the identification of the Perrhaebians as *penestai*, see Ducat 1994B: 67, 97.
 - 21 Huntington 1968: 375; Prosterman and Riedinger 1987: 10; Migdal 1974: 158–9, 201. For specific studies, see especially, Harvey 1998, and Wiegersma 1988.
 - 22 See Welles 1934: 51, ll. 10–16. Since a *plethron* is a unit of length, 100 feet, these measurements of area are probably equivalent to a *plethron* squared, or 10,000 square feet (Billows 1995: 164, n. 53). The largest of these grants then was equivalent in area to approximately 31.5 acres; the smallest, about 25 acres.
 - 23 The Ortaeans or Aenianians, Boeotians, Dolopians, Dorians, Ionians, Achaeans, Locrians, Magnesians, Malians, Perrhaebians, Phocians, Pythians, and the Thessalians (Aeschin. 2. 116; Paus. 10. 8. 2).
 - 24 On the battle, see Hammond: 1938, recounted briefly in Hammond 1994: 151–4; Cawkwell 1978: 144–9; Worthington 2008: 147–51; Buckler and Beck 2008: 254–8.
 - 25 Although Pausanias reports that the child was a boy, the infant was a daughter, Europa (Athen. 13. 557E; Just. 9. 7. 12; see Diod. 17. 2. 3).
 - 26 For Diodorus’ lack of precision in the use of such phrases as “about the same time,” see Anson 1986: 209–10.
 - 27 See the discussion in Ruzicka 2010: 3–11, who places the overture from Alexander to Pixodarus before his official reconciliation with Philip, and the dressing down by father of his son, after the latter’s return.

- While this is certainly possible, Plutarch's account gives the impression that all of these activities occurred after the reconciliation.
- 28 Olga Palagia (2010: 38–41) believes that the “Eurydice” in the statue group did not represent Philip's mother, but rather his new wife, who may also have been named Eurydice (Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 5). Waldemar Heckel (1978: 157–8) argues that “Eurydice” was becoming a dynastic name for the chief wife and it was Philip's assignment of this name to Cleopatra that was responsible for Olympias' anger. However, Audata, Philip's first wife, was also called Eurydice (Arr. *Succ.* 1. 22). The critical statue, however, in the argument above is that of Alexander.
 - 29 In general, on Alexander's religiosity, see Edmunds 1971: 363–91.
 - 30 Arr. *Anab.* 1. 11. 2; 2. 18. 1, 26. 4; 3. 6. 1; 4. 4. 3; Curt. 4. 6. 12, 13. 15; 5. 4. 2; 7. 7. 8, 22–9.
 - 31 He was later executed for having conspired with the Persian king against Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 25. 1–4, 10; Diod. 17. 32. 1–2, 80. 2; Curt. 7. 1. 5, 8–10).
 - 32 It is also possible that Archelaus' death was due to an accident (Diod. 14. 37. 6), but see Borza (1990: 177) and Hammond (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 167–8) who prefer Aristotle's account.
 - 33 Orestes, the son of Archelaus, is also reported to have been killed by his guardian (Diod. 14. 37. 6), but Eusebius does not list Orestes in his listing of “the Kings of the Macedonians.”
 - 34 Alexander I may have lost his life through assassination, although it is equally likely that it was in battle (Curt. 6. 11. 26) (see Borza 1990: 133).

Chapter 3

- 1 There is debate over whether a ruling faction was expelled and replaced with a democracy, or with a rival faction. Bosworth (1988: 192) presents a convincing argument for the latter.
- 2 Habicht 1970: 14–16; Badian 1996: 13; Fredricksmeyer 1979: 39–61; Lott 1996: 32.
- 3 Ellis (1976: 307), given that this is the only surviving reference to the incident, doubted its veracity, but it should be accepted, even though, as noted, Diodorus' conclusion concerning its significance may be rejected.
- 4 Parke 1967: 110, 116. Even Heracles (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 11. 7; Diod. 4. 29. 1; 5. 15.3) was only acknowledged as a god after his death.
- 5 For a listing of these possible early examples, see Habicht 1970: 8–10, 244–5.

- 6 Badian (1981: 39–40) rejects the evidence as late and rhetorical. For a positive view, see Baynham 1994: 39 n. 31.
- 7 As many as 18 are recorded in later sources, but through analysis only six can be definitely claimed (Fraser 1996: esp. 201).
- 8 Lionel Edmunds (1971: 379) argues that Alexander lacked confidence in his ability, and, as a result, he needed the various omens and oracles to bolster it. Given Alexander's actions during his short life, this conclusion would appear far-fetched.
- 9 It is possible that the cult of Ammon at Aphytis in Chalcidice may have exerted its influence on Macedonia (Cawkwell 1994: 293–306).
- 10 Arr. *Anab.* 2. 20. 6–24. 5; Curt. 4. 2. 1–4. 4. 19; Diod. 17. 40. 2–46. 5; Plut. *Alex.* 24. 4–5, 25. 1–2.
- 11 On the history of the oracle, see Classen 1959: 349–55; Parke 1987: 194–5.
- 12 Bloedow (2004: 75–99) argues that visiting the oracle was the reason Alexander entered Egypt. The sources insist the desire only arose after Alexander entered Egypt.
- 13 Arr. *Anab.* 3. 3. 1–2; Curt. 4. 7. 8; Plut. *Alex.* 27. 6–7; Diod. 17. 51; Str. 17. 1. 43.
- 14 Plut. *Alex.* 27. 5–9; Curt. 4. 7. 25; Diod. 17. 51. 1–2; Str. 17. 1. 43. Plutarch (*Alex.* 27. 9) comments that “some say” that the priest attempted to address Alexander as “my son” but because of his faulty Greek actually said “son of Zeus,” but it is unlikely that a priest associated with an oracle of such prominence in the Greek world did not know Greek. But regardless, even if this had been the case, Alexander would have taken the error as being initiated by the god, in short a favorable response (see Plut. *Alex.* 14. 6–7; Diod. 17. 93. 4).
- 15 Str. 17. 1. 43; Curt. 4. 7. 27; Diod. 17. 51. 1–2; Just. 11. 11. 2–8.
- 16 See, for example, Wilcken 1928: 576–603; 1930: 159–76; repeated in Wilcken 1967: 126–7; Parke 1967: 120–1. However, Brunt (1976: 469–71) argues that it is very possible that Alexander asked the oracle directly about his birth.
- 17 When Alexander had come to consult the oracle at Delphi, it was on a day unlawful to deliver oracles. When the Pythia refused to perform her office, Alexander attempted to drag her to the temple. The Pythia is supposed to have responded to his action by declaring spontaneously, “you are invincible.” At which time Alexander released her from his grasp and said he had no need of any additional prophecy.
- 18 Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 61. 7; Plato *Alc.* 2. 148D–149A; Plut. *Cim.* 18. 6; Ar. *Av.* 611, 715.
- 19 Kienast (1987: 319–23) emphasizes the role of Callisthenes in giving the entire incident an “*epischen klang*.”

- 20 Arrian (*Anab.* 3. 3. 5) quotes Ptolemy as reporting that the guides were serpents; Curtius (4. 7. 15) mentions crows.
- 21 Paus. 3. 18. 15; 5. 10. 9, 11. 5, 25. 7, 26. 7; 6. 5. 5, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 4. 11–12.
- 22 Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 7; Paus. 1. 27. 10; 5. 10. 9. While Heracles journeyed to Dodona (Soph. *Trach.* 46–8, 77–84, 155–8, 165, 169), there is no record of Alexander doing likewise. However, he certainly was in a position to do so on numerous occasions and an argument from silence is not, in this case, very compelling.
- 23 Arr. *Anab.* 2. 3. 4–8; Curt. 3. 1. 14–18; Just. 11. 7. 4, 15–16; Plut. *Alex.* 18. 2–4; *FGrH* 135/6. F-4. Fredricksmeier (1961: 160–8) argues for the acceptance of the tradition that the Phrygians had migrated from Macedonia and for Alexander's knowledge of this connection. His argument for the general acceptance of the veracity of this connection in Alexander's time would make the fulfillment of the prophecy doubly significant for Alexander.
- 24 For the authenticity of the letter, see Bosworth 1980B: 232.
- 25 Brunt (1976: 473) states that Alexander sought out the oracle to enquire into his paternity, not that he was already convinced that Ammon (Zeus) was his father.
- 26 Arr. *Anab.* 4. 9. 9; 7. 8. 3; Diod. 17. 108. 3; Curt. 6. 9. 18, 10. 26–8; Plut. *Alex.* 28. 2; 33. 1; 50. 11; Just. 12. 11. 6; Hyper. 5. fr. 7; Athen. 12. 538A–B = *FGrH* 126 F 5.
- 27 Apollod. 2. 4. 8–9; Ovid *Her.* 9. 44; Hom. *Odys.* 8. 601–6; Eurip. *Hercl.* 148–9, 339–47; Bosworth 1980B: 271; 1988: 283–4.
- 28 This emphasis on Philip was preceded by the Macedonian troops' mocking reference to "his father Ammon" (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 8. 3).
- 29 According to tradition the oracle had warned Philip to beware of chariots (Ael. *VH* 3. 45), told him to sacrifice to Ammon, and had ambiguously responded to his question concerning the success of his Persian expedition (Diod. 16. 91. 2; Paus. 8. 7. 6). J. Fontenrose (1978: 338) regards none of these last three responses as genuine. While on the face of it the first and second are clearly questionable, the third, if not authentic, would then most certainly represent an attempt by Delphi to obfuscate an earlier endorsement of the campaign.
- 30 Burstein 1991: 139–45; Collins 2008: 46–59. Contra: Olmstead 1959: 512; Will 1986: 83; Green 1991: 269; Menu 1998: 262; Fredricksmeier 2003: 258.
- 31 Abd el-Rasiq 1984: 11, 14, 16, 22, 45; Lepsius 1972: Pls. 32, 82–3; Abteilung IV, pls. 3–5; von Beckerath 1984: 232–3.
- 32 Derchain (1996: 91–9) proclaims this particular piece of iconography to be temple propaganda.
- 33 On the speed of ancient ships, Casson 1971: 296.

- 34 Green 1991: 269–77; Hammond 1980A: 122–3, 332. Donald Engels (1978: 60, 63, 64 n. 54) argues that Alexander arrived in Pelusium in October, and departed Egypt in April.
- 35 See Edmunds 1971: 363–91; Fredricksmeyer 2003: 256–70.
- 36 Arr. Anab. 1. 11. 2; 2. 18. 1, 26.4; 3. 6. 1; 4. 4. 3; Curt. 4. 6. 12, 13. 15; 5. 4. 2; 7. 7. 8, 22–9.
- 37 The battle occurred on October 1, 331 BC (Sachs and Hunger 1988: 179, 330, obv. ll. 15–18).

Chapter 4

- 1 It has been argued that Alexander staged the “mutiny” that led to his withdrawal from the Indian campaign (Spann 1999: 62–74; Heckel 2003: 147–74); contra: Anson: Forthcoming). See Chapter 5.
- 2 Boyce and Grenet 1991: 3–17. Much of the opposition to Macedonian rule occurred during the Seleucid empire (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 29–30).
- 3 On the polygamy of Macedonian kings, see Chapter 2.
- 4 While the exact date is debated, the parameters appear to be 342 and 339 (for the former Ellis 1976: 166–7, who associates the marriage with Philip’s 342/1 campaign in Thrace; Griffith (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 677) and Hammond (1989: 36) connect the marriage to Philip’s Scythian campaign of that year.
- 5 While Ian Worthington (2008: 185; see also Hammond 1997: 24) believes that Alexander was to be left behind as regent, this is highly unlikely. See Chapter 2.
- 6 Bactria at this time roughly corresponds to the territory of modern Afghanistan; Sogdiana, mostly the modern country of Uzbekistan, but also including part of Tajikistan.
- 7 Another possible brother is Amphilochus. He is later called the “brother of the king [Arrhidaeus]” (Arr. *Succ.* 1. 35), Alexander’s half-brother and part of the dual monarchy, including Alexander’s infant son, that succeeded to the throne after the Conqueror’s death. This designation might indicate an additional half-brother for Alexander. However, scholars typically believe that, if the statement is accurate and not a mistaken reference to that Arrhidaeus, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (so Heckel 2006: 22, following earlier scholars), Amphilochus is a son by Arrhidaeus’ mother Philinna, but from an earlier marriage, and not the son of Philip II (Bosworth 2002: 113; Carney 2000C: 61, 276 n. 45).
- 8 Curtius (9. 7. 1) reports that the Greeks revolted because of “fear of punishment.” Curtius only hints at the cause of this fear, which was apparently their insubordination (Curt. 9. 7. 1).

- 9 Str. 11. 11. 4; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 29. 1; 4. 5. 2, 16. 4–5; Curt. 8. 1. 3; 10. 2. 8; Just. 12. 5. 13.
- 10 On the origin and status of these individuals, see Heckel 2006: 56–7, 179, 193.
- 11 On the confused history of Syria from 333 to 331, see Bosworth 1980B: 114–15.
- 12 Strabo (12. 1. 4) states that Cappadocia had been divided into two provinces prior to the Macedonian invasion, Cappadocia Proper and Cappadocia near Taurus. The northern part was the satrapy of Ariarathes. After the Persian counteroffensive after Issus in Asia Minor he acquired all of Cappadocia (Anson 1988: 473–4).
- 13 Even though no source states this, it is likely that the responsibilities of the two military officers as with the two supervisory nomarchs were divided along the traditional separation of the region into Upper and Lower Egypt (Bosworth 1988: 234; Heckel 2006: 115, 203).
- 14 This refers to the region to the east of the Nile in the Egyptian eastern desert.
- 15 Diodorus inaccurately associates this entire episode with Tyre, rather than the correct Sidon.
- 16 Arr. *Anab.* 2. 20. 6–24. 5; Curt. 4. 2. 1–4. 4. 19; Diod. 17. 40. 2–46. 5; Plut. *Alex.* 24. 4–5, 25. 1–2. For the dating of the siege, see Bosworth 1980B: 255.

Chapter 5

- 1 The survival of Persepolis is clearly the case, even though Curtius (5. 7. 9–10) claims that the city was gone without a trace.
- 2 The exact circumstances of this contest vary considerably in our sources, with Arrian presenting a very different picture from that of Curtius and Diodorus, whose accounts mostly converge (Bosworth: 1980B: 321–2; Heckel 2006: 156).
- 3 On the religious importance of Persepolis, see Pope 1957: 123–130.
- 4 Diodorus (17. 74. 3) places this dismissal somewhat later, after the death of Darius.
- 5 On this incident, see now Anson: Forthcoming.
- 6 These troops had been summoned in 332 after the capture of Gaza (Curt. 4. 6. 30). Bosworth (1975: 32–3) suggests that by the end of 333 more than 8,000 infantry had left Macedonia for Asia.
- 7 Given that in this hard-fought and drawn-out conflict in which “no one returned unwounded” (Curt. 6. 1. 16) and in which 5,300 Lacedaemonians and their allies fell (Diod. 17. 63. 3; Curt. 6. 1. 16),

- it is likely that the figures are accurate. If the Macedonians lost 1,000 and their allies 2,500, perhaps as many as 10,000 Macedonians fought.
- 8 Initially on Phrasaortes' death, Orxines had appointed himself satrap without Alexander's authority. Alexander was in India at this time, but when Alexander returned he was executed ostensibly for "plundering temples, robbing royal tombs, and putting innocent Persians to death" (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 30. 2; Curt. 10. 1. 22–38).
 - 9 See note 2.
 - 10 While descriptions of the disaster vary in our sources (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 5. 2–6. 2; Curt. 7. 7. 30–39), Bosworth (1988: 112) is probably correct that these variations are due to the "confused and conflicting recollections" of the survivors. According to Curtius 2,000 men were killed (Curt. 7. 7. 39); only 340 escaped (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 6. 2).
 - 11 According to Curtius (8. 3. 8–16), he was murdered by his own wife who brought his head to Alexander.
 - 12 Curtius (8. 5. 1) states that Alexander recruited natives into his army "to serve simultaneously as hostages and soldiers."
 - 13 Curtius places this campaign in 328, but this author does not associate Roxane with the capture of this position (8. 4. 23). He also has the meeting later when Alexander enters her father's satrapy (8. 4. 23), while Arrian (*Anab.* 4. 20. 4) has Oxyartes coming to Alexander after he hears of his daughter's capture.
 - 14 Oxyartes would later be made satrap of Parapamisadae, in what is today northwest Pakistan (Arr. *Anab.* 6. 15. 3; Curt. 9. 8. 9).
 - 15 Curt. 7. 1. 5–9, 8. 8. 6; Arr. *Anab.* 1. 25. 3–9; Diod. 17. 32. 1, 80. 2; Just. 11. 7. 1–2, 12. 14. 1.
 - 16 Our sources relate that Alexander had prepared to leave the gathering early, but a Syrian female seer begged him to return which he did (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 13. 5–6; Curt. 8. 6. 16–17).
 - 17 In Diodorus (17. 93. 1, 94. 3) and Curtius (9. 2. 11), Alexander's goal was to conquer the entire world.
 - 18 Arr. *Anab.* 7. 8. 1–12. 4; Diod. 17. 108. 3, 109. 1–3; Plut. *Alex.* 71. 1–5; Just. 12. 11. 5–12. 10; Curt. 10. 2. 8, 4. 2.
 - 19 Diodorus (17. 109. 2–3) implies that it was the Macedonians who were to remain with Alexander who were insubordinate, implying that all wished to return home. However, Diodorus places this incident in Susa (Diod. 17. 110. 3), making his narrative suspect.
 - 20 Heckel (2006: 142) says it is "highly likely" that this individual is a high-ranking Persian and a kinsman of Darius III. The difficulty is that Arrian refers to him as a Bactrian, and Curtius (6. 2. 7–9) notes that the Persian Hystaspes was to be sought, but it is never noted whether he was found.

- 21 Arr. *Anab.* 7. 8. 1–11. 7; Plut. *Alex.* 71. 2–9; Curt. 10. 2. 8–3. 11; Diod. 17. 109. 2–3; Just. 12. 11. 1–12. 10.

Chapter 6

- 1 The ability to diagnose historical figures who are long dead has been seriously challenged (most recently by York and Steinberg 2004: 153–6).
- 2 Alcoholism has been suggested as the cause of death (O'Brien 1991: 192), but Hamilton's conclusion still appears valid. "That Alexander was a drunkard devoid of self-control is, of course, a figment of the rhetorical and philosophic imagination, an unwarranted generalization" (Hamilton 1974: 165).
- 3 Or six by Fraser's pruning (1996: 102–70).
- 4 Arr. *Anab.* 7. 6. 1; Curt. 8. 5. 1; Diod. 17. 108. 1–2; Plut. *Alex.* 47. 3, 71. 1.
- 5 Arr. *Anab.* 7. 8. 1–12. 4; Diod. 17. 108. 3, 109. 1–3; Plut. *Alex.* 71. 1–5; Just. 12. 11. 5–12. 10; Curt. 10. 2. 8. 4. 2.
- 6 Arr. *Anab.* 7. 8. 1–11. 7; Plut. *Alex.* 71. 2–9; Curt. 10. 2. 8–3. 11; Diod. 17. 109. 2–3; Just. 12. 11. 1–12. 10.
- 7 Str. 15. 3. 9–10; Diod. 17. 108. 4.
- 8 Tarn (1921: 18–28) rejected Alexander's fatherhood, but for the generally accepted position, see Brunt 1975: 22–34.
- 9 There is some controversy over which of Alexander's sons died first (Hammond and Walbank 1988: 165–7). Much of the controversy is moot since the murder of Alexander IV was kept secret for a number of years (Diod. 19. 105. 2; Just. 15. 2. 5), with the knowledge only becoming known in 309 (Just. 15. 2. 13–14; Diod. 20. 53. 2–4).

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